THE TUNE-BOOK IN AMERICAN CULTURE: 1800-1820

James William Hall, Jr.

A DISSERTATION

in

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

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HARMONIA SACRA.

A COLLECTION OF

Original & Choice

Psalms and Hymn

TUNES,

ODES, ANTHEMS, GLORIA PATRIS,

And a Te Deum.

Composed and Harmonized

By the Late

CHAS. SOUTHGATE,

of Richmond, Virg.a

NEW YORK;

ENGRAVED,

Printed and Published

for the Widow, by Edward Riley,

29 Chatham Street.

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PREFACE

The tune-book, which today has virtually disappeared save for limited use in some relict enclaves, was, in the early nineteenth century, at the very center of a singing movement of considerable vitality. In seeking to understand the source of that vitality I determined to examine the tune-book as a cultural form, hoping to understand why psalmody was so important to Americans at that time, what its relationship was to the geographical dispersion of the American people, and the nature of its functions or roles in the culture of the period. By focusing on this single form over a rather brief but critical period of time, I hoped to find cultural processes at work which would help my understanding of how cultural values are transmitted from one area to another and the ways in which social and geographical differences contribute to diversity in levels of taste. Moreover, I sought to understand, in a larger sense, something of the paradoxical state of American cultural life in this formative time. To accomplish that end, I identified those publications containing psalm and hymn tunes and used these volumes as basic source materials through which the sacred music tradition and its place in American life could be revealed and studied. I discovered in the Tune-book a truly significant printed form which serves not only as an index to the complexities of American artistic life of the period, but which in itself helped to shape and influence attitudes toward the arts which are felt in America to this day.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Our folk hymnody is, of course, significant as a written record of the exact state of the American singing tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century . . . It is possibly the most valuable musical heritage that has come down to us from early American times. . . . [Tune-books] have been unaccountably neglected, despite the fact that as primary sources of the first magnitude, they are essential to a full understanding and an accurate reconstruction of eighteenth and early nineteenth century American musical life . . . they are . . . the raw materials for pages of an as yet unwritten history of American music.
>
> —Irving Lowens*

The Tune-book is a form of musical publication comprised of a collection of musical tunes or melodies, usually harmonized in three or four voice parts, and intended as a body of musical settings for metrical psalm and hymn texts. Gaining popularity in England early in the eighteenth century, the tune-book was transported to English America, especially the New England and Middle Atlantic colonies, where it became the accepted medium for published religious or sacred music.[1] Separated from their homelands by a cultural gap greater than the gulf of a great ocean, either unfamiliar with or scrupulously opposed to the noble tradition of English cathedral music, bereft of the rigid theoretical disciplines passed from master to pupil, and yet, stricken with an intense passion for song and hymn, the English, Scotch-Irish and German colonists authored, compiled, printed, sold and consumed an incredible number of editions of tune-books as they sought to fulfill certain basic creative, aesthetic, recreational and religious, as well as practical, human needs. Between the publication of James Lyon's Urania (1762) and The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (1822) these needs were fulfilled by the publication of several hundred tune-books which were used regularly in the churches, meeting halls and homes of the inhabitants of the United States.

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*"John Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second: A Northern Precursor of Southern Folk Hymnody," _Music and Musicians in Early America_ (New York, 1964), p. 155.

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[1] The term "church music" is somewhat too limited in meaning to account for all music found published in tune-books. "Psalmody" refers only to the singing of the Old Testament Psalms in metrical form, while "hymnody" refers to non-Biblical religious poetry, intended for a musical setting. By the early nineteenth century, as James E. Dooley has pointed out ("Thomas Hastings: American Church Musician," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1963, p. 2, fn.), both psalmody and hymnody were in use, as well as various chants and anthems; Dooley prefers, therefore to use the term "church music." Such a term does not adequately define, however, the wide use to which the tune-books were put. Although most certainly used in church services, they were also employed widely at other social functions and in the home. Only terms as general as "religious music" or "sacred music" seem comprehensive enough to be descriptive of the content of the tune-book.

The initial purpose or function of the tune-book was relatively simple: it provided harmonized melodies to be used with the psalm and hymn texts in the standard publications of the day.[2] During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in contrast to the present practice, texts were almost always published in small (but not thin!) books without music. Moreover, a single tune could be used with or accommodated to any number of different texts with the same metrical pattern. Again this is contrary to the modern practice of closely associating one tune with a particular text. The tune-book thus fulfilled a peculiar need for a flexible body of musical tunes available for use with the various textual publications. Frequently a single stanza of a hymn text was included in the tune-book, but this was presumably only to be of assistance in learning and singing the notes of a given tune.

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[2] Among the standard publications of psalm and hymn texts were the following: Thomas Sternhold: *The Whole Book of Psalms; Collected into English Meeter by Thomas Sternehold, John Hopkins and Others* (London, 1624); N. Tate and N. Brady: *The Psalms of David, a New Version of, Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches* (London, 1718). Isaac, Watts, D.D.: *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Applied to Christian Use and Worship* (London, 1719; many subsequent English and American editions well into the nineteenth century.) and *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1707; many subsequent editions). John and Charles Wesley; *A Collection of Hymns and Psalms* (London, 1738; Philadelphia, 1781), *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London, 1747; Philadelphia, 1740), and *Pocket Hymn-Book for the Use of Christians* (New York, 1786; 46 editions in various cities by 1819). Belknap, Jeremy: *Sacred Poetry, Consisting of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to Christian Devotion* (Boston, 1795; many subsequent editions). Timothy Dwight: The Psalms of David (1801). A. W. Foote notes this book as the most widely used book among conservative Congretional churches and Presbyterian churches until about 1840. Joshua Smith: *Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs, for use of Religious Assemblies and Private Christians* (Norwich, N.H., 1784; many editions to 1816). John Rippon: *A Selection of Hymns, from the Best Authors, Intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns* (Burlington, [N. J.] 1801; many subsequent editions).

The tune-books published prior to the War for Independence contained, by and large, a preponderance of English tunes and anthems. Following the war, in the period of rising national self-consciousness, the compositions of American composers became praiseworthy and soon dominated the increasing number of publications. By the turn of the century a resurgence of interest among singers, other musicians and clergymen for the works of "the best masters" brought a redress in the balance. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century—a period characterized by the charisma of repeated awakenings of religious visitation—the native American product and the traditional European artistic product vied for distinction in the virtual plethora of tune-book publications. Toward the end of the second decade a renewal of interest in the earlier native product began to play an important role in the content of tune-books published in the Western areas. By 1820 the tune-book, as it was known in 1800, had undergone a dual transformation. In the older urban areas the tune-book was transformed into a text book and song book with emphasis on the more difficult anthems. This type is represented by the publication of Lowell Mason's _Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music_ in 1822. On the other hand, in the remote rural areas, especially to the South and West the folk hymn element became predominant. Stemming from the publication of _Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second_ (Harrisburg, 1813),[3] the folk hymn became the nucleus of a distinguished body of Southern publications.[4] While urban sacred musical practices became almost exclusively oriented toward European musical standards by 1820, the folk tradition, both oral and printed, continued to thrive in the rural areas. In fact, the "white-spiritual" tradition has been sustained until quite recent times in the more remote sections of Appalachia[5] and among the German speaking populations of eastern and central Pennsylvania.[6]

The period of greatest significance for the study of the role of the tune-book in America is marked historically by the close of the War for Independence on the one hand and the financial panic and depression of 1819-1820 on the other. This period represents an era in American life much more unified than the usual political division which categorizes this era into Confederate, Federalist and National periods. It is a period which saw the rapid foundation and growth of numerous public and private societies and organizations. Among these institutions were the many varied societies in most of the major cities, and dozens of the smaller ones, which brought an astonishing stabilization and systemization to the arts. The singing schools of the 1780's and 1790's directed by itinerant autodidact musicians became, by the 1800's, more or less permanent societies with established musical directors with more thorough technical training. Accompanying such greatly expanded musical activities were more than 200 tune-books in over 350 editions published in America between 1801 and 1820. During this period even a rapid scanning of American bibliography[7] reveals that tune-books constituted about 0.7 per cent of all American imprints and that, in conjunction with a sizeable body of instrumental music,[8] broadside song sheets[9] and songsters[10] (these publications seldom contained music), the tune-books constitute one of the largest and most important bodies of musical source material in America for the period described. Moreover, the quantity and apparent popularity of the books is indicative of a considerable amount of interest in musical instruction and experience over widely divergent geographical regions. As such they are a noteworthy body of American artifacts expressive of American culture and character.

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[3] Irving Lowens, "John Wyeth's Repository," op. cit., Music and Musicians in Early America (New York, 1964), pp. 138-155.

[4] Ananias Davisson, Kentucky Harmony (ca. 1815, Harrisonburg, Va.); James M. Boyd, The Virginia Sacred Musical Repository (Winchester, Va., 1818); Allen D. Carden, The Missouri Harmony (1820); Joseph Funk, Genuine Church Music (1832); William Walker, The Southern Harmony (1835); B. F. White and E. J. King, The Sacred Harp (1844).

[5] George Pullen Jackson, White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands (University of North Carolina, 1933; Re-issued with an introduction by Don Yoder in 1964).

[6] See Don Yoder, Pennsylvania Spirituals (Lancaster, 1961).

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[7] Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801-1819 (New York, 1958-1965). This completes the American bibliography as outlined but left incomplete by Evans. Unfortunately there are numerous errors and duplications in what is otherwise an extremely valuable resource for research in this period.

[8] Richard J. Wolfe, Secular Music in America: 1801-1825, 3 volumes (New York, 1964).

[9] James W. Hall, "The Social Historian and the American Broadside Ballad," (unpublished manuscript, 1964).

[10] Irving Lowens has been preparing a bibliography of American Songsters published in the United States before 1821.

Musicians and critics have, in general, reacted unfavorably to tune-books during most of the last century and a half. Writers of the mid-nineteenth century, such as Nathaniel Gould,[11] and George Hood,[12] rejected the tunes of the "primitive composers. Both critics were writing in the pre-Civil war period when an aversion for native composition was fashionable and the desire to imitate or import European art styles the _mode du jour_.

By late in the nineteenth century, however, Americans were seeking a national tradition. They found in the music of the century past a crude, but fascinating study.[13] One of the most important books on American sacred music was American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music (New York, 1925), by Frank J. Metcalf. Documenting his studies carefully, Metcalf brought a sympathetic understanding to the lives and works of many lesser American musicians.

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[11] _A History of Church Music in America_ (Boston, 1853).

[12] _A History of Music in New England: with Biographical Sketches of Reformers and Psalmists_ (Boston, 1846).

[13] Arthur Farwell, and W. Dermot Darby (eds.), _Music in America_, Vol. IV of _The Art of Music_, Daniel Gregory Mason, editor-in-chief, 14 vols. (New York, 1915). Granville L. Howe and W.S.B. Matthews (eds.), _A Hundred Years of Music in America_ (Chicago, 1889). W. L. Hubbard, ed., _History of American Music:_ a volume of _The American History and Encyclopedia of Music_ (New York, 1908). Frederick Louis Ritter, _Music in America_ (New York, 1895). James Warrington, _Short Titles of Books Relating to or Illustrating the History and Practice of Psalmody in the United States:_ 1620-1820 (Philadelphia, 1898).

Henry Wilder Foote, writing of the tune-book literature twenty-five years ago, noted that "while in general [the tune book's] effect on American hymnody has been neither permanent nor valuable, they do represent sweeping movements which had a large popular appeal and were very characteristic of the place and period in which they occurred."[14] He further said that "the books of a more popular type . . . included also hymns by American authors, often anonymous, most of which rose little above the level of doggerel, while the music was of similar character."[15] When Gilbert Chase wrote America's Music fifteen years later (1955) the emphasis was placed on the indigenous musical traditions of America, rather than on a certain standard of western art music. Chase devoted one chapter to a description of the "native pioneers"[16] and their activities. Chase benefitted from the extensive studies of the white spiritual tradition made by George Pullen Jackson. Jackson's studies are probably most significant in effecting a changed attitude toward the products of American rural culture. Jackson and Irving Lowens have both investigated the movement of the folk tradition from western New England to the southern uplands, where elements of the tune-books are still used today. Lowens, in particular, has studied the influence of Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1813) on the southern books published in subsequent years. He has also written a number of other important articles on the tune-book and allied topics, and made extensive bibliographical and musicological studies.

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[14] Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge, 1940), p. 172.

[15] Foote, ibid., p. 187.

[16] Gilbert Chase, America's Music (New York, 1955), Chapter VII, pp. 123-145.

No recent major book has been published on the tune-book. There are, however, a number of excellent dissertations to which this study is deeply indebted. Allen P. Britton's "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1949) is much more than its name suggests. It is a thorough investigation of the tune-books published in America before 1800, as well as the practice of sacred music and its instructional methods. Moreover, it contains a complete bibliography of sacred music published to 1800. I have endeavored to extend this bibliography to 1820 in the Appendix of this study. Also useful is Hans Engelke's "A Study of Ornaments in American Tune-Books" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1960). Ralph Daniel studies the influence of English musical style on American sacred music in "The Anthem in New England before 1800" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard

University, 1955), * while Alan Buechner gives something of the organizational and social aspects in "Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England: 1760-1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1960). A somewhat outdated but still helpful study is John Gilfillan's "Singing Schools in America" (unpublished Master of Music Essay, Eastman School of Music, 1939). Unfortunately, the writer did not have the advantage of a promising, but as yet incomplete, study being conducted by Richard B. Rosewall entitled 'Singing Schools in Pennsylvania: 1800-1900." An important reference study is Charles E. Wunderlich's "A History and Bibliography of Early American Musical Periodicals: 1782-1852"(unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1962). A good number of the principal musicians and compilers who were working between 1800 and 1820 have been the subject of biographical and analytical studies. These include the very carefully researched "Oliver Holden, Composer and Anthologist" (unpublished S.M.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1963), by David W. McCormick; "Three American Primitives: A Study of the Musical Styles of Samuel Holyoke, Oliver Holden, and Hans Gram" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1963) by Relford Patterson; "Samuel Holyoke, American Music Educator" (unpublished dissertation, University of Southern California,

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*Published 1966.

1954) by J. Lawrence Willhide; "Jacob Kimball, Jr.: His Life and Works" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1957) by Glenn Wilcox; "The Life and Music of Jacob French: Colonial American Composer" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1963), by Marvin Charles Genuchi; "Andrew Law: Musical Reformer" (unpublished master's thesis, Brown University, 1956) by Joyce E. Mangler; "Thomas Hastings: American Church Musician" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1964) by James E. Dooley; and "A History of School Vocal Instruction Books in the United States" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1953) by Robert W. John. In addition, special studies of music and musical activities of various cities and regions are invaluable. Without the splendid research of the above and others, this study would have been difficult to complete.

Because the tune-book has been rather carefully examined through 1800 (as indicated by several of the titles mentioned above) it seemed advisable to limit this study to books published after that date. There is no compelling reason for a cleavage in the tradition at that date; the tune-book, like the government, did not change radically with the advent of the Jeffersonian administration of 1800. There are, however, gradual and quickening changes which occur in the period after 1800 which make a study of that period particularly significant. As noted earlier, the tune-book was transformed gradually into folk and learned types after 1820. Hence, this study will conclude with the year 1820.

With some exceptions, the musical style represented in the tune-book has been thoroughly analyzed and expounded in several of the dissertations already cited.[17] A good representation of the active composers and compilers of the period have been studied from this approach. Again, however, the emphasis has tended to be on the pre-nineteenth century period, rather than on the fertile and productive early decades of the nineteenth century. In this study, therefore, a consideration of theoretical analysis will be included only insofar as it is vital to an understanding of factors related to musical taste.

In view of the scholarship already accomplished in this field, it was felt that this study should focus more directly on the tune-book as a part of American life. Accordingly, this study explores the social and musical roles of the tune-book, employing musicological and analytical factors as they become vital to the discussion. Questions of origin or source, stylistic distinctions and musical technique are considered only as they relate to or reveal the role of the tune-book. The study is therefore appropriately entitled "The Tune-Book in American Culture: 1800-1820."

The basic thesis for this study is that the American tune-book played important religious, educational, social and aesthetic roles in the institutional life of the early nineteenth century which, in turn, enabled it to play a major role in the formation and propagation of standards of taste in sacred music. An underlying assumption is that these roles are clearly defined by such variables as the chronological period and geographical area in which the tune-book was published, its printing, publishing and distribution patterns, musical content of the individual volumes, and such sociological factors as church denomination and status of the people who used the book. A general summary statement which this dissertation will attempt to validate is that tune-books in New England, the early center of church music, took the leadership in musical reform in the early nineteenth century, rapidly replacing the native American musical compositions with those of English and continental European authors. This reform in musical taste spread from New England, gradually diminishing in strength in more remote areas. In the western areas, particularly, the New England tune-book encountered, toward the end of the second decade, strong resistance from tune-books which favored both folk hymntunes and the compositions of the older native American composers.

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[17] Cf. pp. 9-11.

The first steps in the validation of this thesis were the compilation of a complete bibliography of tune-book publications in the United States and an examination of other musical publications of the period, both secular and sacred. It was also necessary to know where, how, and by whom the books were printed, published and sold. It was required to determine the distribution and cost of various volumes, the people who purchased the books, the sociological segment these people represented, and the manner in which the books were used by these people. Such knowledge reveals much concerning the musical tradition(s) in America. More significantly it suggests important principles common to other American arts and provides some broad and instructive conclusions relevant to the general state of American cultural life in the early nineteenth century.

Large collections of tune-books are available at a number of libraries. The holdings of the American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, Massachusetts) and Library of Congress are unequalled. A listing of other important library collections is found in Appendix A.

Chapter II reviews the practice of sacred music in America during the early nineteenth century. It evaluates the place of sacred music within American musical practice as a whole, and reconstructs the underlying philosophy or attitudes toward sacred music through a close reading of important essays, sermons and other documents of the period.

Chapter III is a description of the American tune-book. It includes a broad examination of the bibliography and the general content of each volume. The tunes are classified according to origin, and the tune-books are divided into various types according to content.

Chapters IV and V are the critical portions of the dissertation. Both deal with various aspects touching on the roles of the tune-book in

American culture. Chapter IV, in a study of institutional roles, reviews the activities of the singing school during this period and the materials used by the schools. Chapter V explores the role of the tune-book in the area of musical taste amid a changing, restless, American culture.

Several appendices are included and are considered as an essential part of the dissertation as well as an original contribution. The complete tune-book bibliography is classified by author or compiler, by year of publication, and by place of publication. This list should provide a useful checklist, continuing the excellent list compiled by Allen P. Britton for the period ending 1800.

CHAPTER II

SACRED MUSIC IN AMERICA: 1800-1820

> The American Democrat knew so little of art that among his popular illusions he could not then nourish artistic ambition; but leaders like Jefferson, Gallatin, and Barlow might without extravagance count upon a coming time when the diffused ease and education should bring the masses into familiar contact with higher forms of human achievement, and their vast creative power, turned toward a nobler culture, might rise to the level of that democratic genius which found expression in the Parthenon; might revel in the delights of a new Buonarotti and a richer Titian; might create for five hundred million people the America of thought and art which alone could satisfy their omnivorous ambition.
>
> Henry Adams*

INTRODUCTION

The American musical tradition during the early nineteenth century was a many faceted one, its forms ranging from serious concerts to circuses and musical clocks. This chapter first briefly explores the background of American music, the special problems it presents to the cultural historian, and the place of different forms of sacred music within the total musical activity. Secondly, the basic philosophy of sacred music, its aims and purposes, is explored through a careful reading of important documents written on the subject by clergymen during the period under study. Through this study of the musical traditions, the artistic milieu in which the tune-book circulated can best be hypothecated, and the facts established for the subsequent evaluation of its role in American culture.

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*_The United States in 1800_; reprint of first six chapters of _History of the United States_ (1889), (Ithaca, New York, 1955), p. 132.

A. THE ARTS IN AMERICA

More than any other single event in American history, the War for Independence marked and was responsible for the establishment of an American identity, separate and distinguishable from the English cultural identity. The evocative symbols of *Richard the Lion-Hearted* and the *Spanish Armada* were replaced in the public imagination by *Christopher Columbus* and *Valley Forge*. One could never assert that American culture, in that period, was anything but a transplantation of Continental and British cultures, carried to a virgin land by immigrants of diverse backgrounds. But one can perceive very early a fusion and development of these transplanted cultures, both by the interaction and hybridization of diverse subcultures, and by the steadily expanding range of choice, unlimited by the negations of destructive cultural rebellion. No academies preserving the past needed to be overthrown: change was considered as progress, activity as creation, Cultural change in America was generally creative, seldom restrictive.

By the year 1800 the United States consisted of 16 states, vast territories, and a growing number of urban centers where the centralization of population, commerce, small industry and wealth produced an enlightened, metropolitan cultural life. Moreover, the areas immediately surrounding these urban areas also contributed to and were, in turn, influenced by these centers. In Massachusetts and Connecticut especially, the many small towns became productive centers of artistic activity.

The period 1800 to 1820 was one of unprecedented national expansion. The culture of the East was being projected in the vast expanse, westward across the bounds of New York state, along both sides of the Ohio river. In each new settlement, once the initial period of toil had been accomplished, civic-minded leaders demanded that educational and religious institutions be established, and libraries, newspapers, churches and common and singing schools were welcomed as practical symbols of civilization. Moreover, whether the institutions of the West were imported from the Northern, Southern or Middle-Atlantic states, they bore the stamp of a common English origin. By the end of the period, the process was well advanced as far west as the Mississippi. The years following the Peace of Ghent saw rapid development of the trans-Appalachian areas; between 1810 and 1820 these areas beyond the Appalachians had increased in population by more than one hundred per cent. By the year of the Missouri compromise important urban centers had been established at Pittsburgh, Utica, Detroit, Louisville and Cincinnati. And among the civilizing institutions which these developing centers produced were organizations for the arts and music.

Common beliefs to the contrary, Americans seem always to have at least tasted, if not chewed and digested, an enormous quantity of art and music. From the earliest days of the Republic, the production of artworks, i.e., paintings, prose and poetry, and music had been sizeable and the public appetite for these works avaricious. In fact, numerous musical concerts of all descriptions appear to have been given from a very early date in most of the provincial cities and towns.

The earliest concerts or theatrical performances probably occurred in the first decade of the eighteenth century, although the earliest verified concerts did not occur until December, 1731 at Boston and during 1732 at Charleston.[1] Public concerts in England do not seem to have become well-established before the end of the seventeenth century and the more conservative cities of the continent did not open the doors to the general public until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century.[2] Thus it is difficult to maintain, considering the relative isolation of the American colonies and the provincial character of the cities, that America was backward to any marked degree during the eighteenth century. There were, to be sure, no courts of brilliance for the securing and patronage of resident orchestras or operas; on the other hand, it is possible that the common person had at least as much, if not more, opportunity for exposure to concerts and theater. As Sonneck so aptly said:

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[1] Oscar G. Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America: 1731-1800,* (Lipezig, 1907), pp. 10-11.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

> Now, the Puritans, the Pilgrims, the Irish, the Dutch, the Germans, the Swedes, the Cavaliers of Maryland and Virginia and the Huguenots of the South may have been zelots, adventurers, beggars, spendthrifts, fugitives from justice, convicts, but barbarians they certainly were not.[3]

Among the earliest societies formed for the performance of public concerts were the St. Cecelia Society of Charleston (1762) which developed into a rather exclusive social club with high musical standards,[4] and the Stoughton Musical Society of Stoughton, Massachusetts (1786) which developed from the early singing classes of William Billings. It is interesting that the Charleston society was primarily interested in the performance of secular vocal and instrumental music, while the Stoughton society, typical of many of the eighteenth century, was primarily formed for the performance of sacred choral music. Sacred music was certainly practiced as much, if not more, in the worship services in Charleston and other areas of the South; in New England, however, it would seem that sacred music extended beyond the church to become a part of the concert life and an important part of domestic life. This is a reflection of the extent to which the church and secular society were separated in the one area and intertwined in the other. Aside, however, from the special emphasis given sacred music in New England and scattered parts of the Middle Atlantic areas, musical activities in urban and southern areas tended to be largely tied to the theater.

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[3] Sonneck, Concert Life, p. 7.

[4] Ibid., pp. 16-18. Sonneck prints a copy of the society's Rules.

The theater is thus the central factor in any study of secular musical activity in America. By the 1790's theaters had been established in most of the major centers. The temporary restraints required by the Continental Congress to further the war effort were now a thing of the past. The great influx of immigrant musicians and actors began, particularly after the French Revolution, and a number of touring troupes circulated throughout the new nation. The public was exposed to a sudden deluge of artistic and theatrical activity with numerous opportunities to attend individual concerts, outdoor exhibitions and subscription series, or to join choral or instrumental societies for performance.[5]

Musical performances made little distinction between light, popular or serious music. The programs were lengthy by modern standards, and varied in content with emphasis on vocal pieces. The orchestra was subordinate. However, programs did include some of the best European music of the period, including works of Corelli, Gluck, Haydn, Purcell

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[5] See Julian Mates, The American Musical Stage Before 1800 (New Brunswick, 1962).

Mozart, Vivaldi and, without fail, Handel. Only single movements of larger works were usually performed; moreover the solo concert by a single "star" artist had not yet come into fashion. Even on programs of the 1830's and 1840's the solo artist appeared only in selected portions of the program. Sonneck made it his task to show the large and increasing number of concerts given during the eighteenth century in America; this he did so thoroughly, based on newspaper reports and advertisements, that his work stands as a document of this period. Unfortunately the same kind of work has not yet been completed for any appreciable part of the period 1800-1860 save for several valuable local studies.[6]

One problem besetting the student of American music and art has to do not with the mere existence of concerts and public performances nor the avaricious appetite of the American public for cultural food, but rather with the omnivorous taste, the inability of the non-aristocratic American to distinguish between the proverbial peasant acorn and the noble pecan. There is no lack of American art and music in the early nineteenth century; however, the art is shaped to feed the vast demands of a freely moving, "pre-affluent" society. It must meet the demands not only of Thomas Jefferson, but a Thomas journeyman; not only William Cooper, but a William cooper.

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[6] Among these studies are Paul A. Allwart, "Sacred Music in New York City: 1800-1850" (unpublished S.M.D. dissertation, 1950), most useful for the latter part of the period; Edward G. Baynham, "The Early Development of Music in Pittsburgh" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1944); Emma Katherine Crews, "A History of Music in Knoxville, Tennessee: 1791-1910" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1961); Milton G. Hehr, "Musical Activities in Salem, Mass.: 1783-1823" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1963); Albert L. Stoutamire, "A History of Music in Richmond, Va., from 1742 to 1865" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, 1960); Mary E.B. Teal, "Musical Activities in Detroit: 1701-1870" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1964); James William Thompson, "Music and Musical Activities in New England: 1800-1838" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1962); Robert A. Gerson, Music In Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1940).

The aesthetician is neither required not inclined to deal with the great bulk of the artistic production of this period in American culture. Placed next to the brilliance of an _Eroica_, _Lyrical Ballads_, or _Execution of May 3, 1808_, the works of a Carr, Freneau or Allston seem, indeed, pale and sometimes overwrought. Recall, however, that the great bulk of artistic production in the most culturally advanced nations of Europe also pales when compared with those few works deemed great by qualified opinion. For the cultural historian, therefore, the artistic judgments accorded by the aesthetician must have a lesser importance. The historian must examine, instead, the significance of artistic activity, and consider the comparative excellence of that activity of secondary importance; the activity signifies to him the presence of powerful creative forces and a deeply inculcated desire for self expression through sensory forms. Even the most casual observation reveals the intensity and scope of those forces and desires in American culture in the fifty years or so following the War for Independence. It is those forces that created an artistic life distinctly American in the United States—to be sure, in constant creative and destructive conflict with the artistic life of the Old World—but nevertheless, after the cleavage of 1776, distinctly American.

Another problem which the historian faces in a study of American arts is the unusually close relationship between different forms of art, herein defined as fine art, popular art, and folk art. The distinctions between fine art, popular art and folk art are difficult to draw, for almost inevitably there is a blending or mixing of these forms in American culture. During the early nineteenth century one can speak of folk art as generally associated with the simpler country people, somewhat removed from contact with urban culture; a popular or mass art as being usually urban and influenced in its forms by both the folk art and classical fine art traditions; and classical fine art as associated with *haut-culture* and the refined, aristocratic and educated people of all ages. During the early nineteenth century classical fine art in America referred particularly to European art of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for, as James Fenimore Cooper noted in *Home as Found*, "We are consumers and not producers of works of art."

The styles and forms of popular art and folk art are especially interchangeable, with adaptations occurring freely between each. In fact, the main difference between the two types is probably that the popular forms are much more transient and faddish than the deeply rooted folk forms passed from generation to generation. By a combination of circumstances, even the folk tradition was subjected to rapidly changing styles and forms in America, for the uprooting of the traditions of the ancestral homeland, the rapid and repeated movements into the American West of families who in Europe might have dwelt in an isolated village throughout their natural lives, and the cultural penetration effected by the mixing of many national backgrounds, made the arts eclectic rather than singular, national rather than provincial, adapted rather than traditionally inculcated, and, therefore, infinitely more susceptible to the vagaries of urban popular taste. With few exceptions, the folk tradition in America must be regarded in a different manner from the folk traditions of Europe, Africa and the Pacific. Possibly in no other area during the early nineteenth century were the folk and popular art forms so closely linked. In fact there was a constant interaction between all three forms in America in the early nineteenth century.

The impulse for art consumption (experience) among all Americans has always been strong, allowing for the relative amount of leisure time and availability of money. Taste, however, varies considerably from area to area. Taste is difficult to define simply in terms of "good" or "bad," as is so often done by those professing to possess "taste." Taste is essentially nothing more than a set of preferences based upon societal norms established for a culture, subculture or group. It is entirely learned and subject to alteration through changes in associational, educational or financial status. For example, the taste for the arts will tend to favor a mixture of popular and folk art in a lower income community where expenditures for education and cultural refinements are less. Conversely, the taste of the more highly educated and financially stable communities tends toward a mixture of popular and fine art. There is one further limitation. Taste, although changeable, seems to be strongly influenced by the early environment of the individual, and subsequent adjustments in taste may be more or less difficult for a given individual to accept. Taste, for example, is frequently the central element of divisiveness among converging ethnic groups. Unfortunately, taste is almost entirely subjective and thus difficult to measure on an individual basis. The only effective methodology is one which measures the actual artistic consumption of a group. Such a method overlooks the obvious impact of the individual taste upon his group. Nevertheless, it is the only objective approach to the problem, and is the method which is followed in this paper.

Lacking a broad appeal to the American masses, generally not speaking to the condition, situation or needs of the milieu, patronized by a thin veneer of monied classes all too busy making money to consider how best to spend it, the classical fine arts languished for most of the early years of the nineteenth century. The influence upon and support from the masses was slight. What encouragement was given developed primarily in a few eastern urban centers. In a nation whose rural occupants made up the great majority of the population,[7] this art could have little direct influence.

B. THE PLACE OF SACRED MUSIC

In the main, the foregoing comments on the arts in America in general hold true for the area of sacred music in particular. Sacred music of each of the three types of art defined above—fine art, popular art and folk art—could be found in the early nineteenth century. That aspect of sacred music which might be designated in the fine art tradition was heardin the larger cities in formal concerts. These concerts were performed from time to time, usually by one of the choral societies formed for that purpose. They included much of the best fine art repertoire of the period, performed by a large choir accompanied by instruments and organ. One of the most impressive was a concert advertised by Benjamin Carr in The Philadelphia Aurora (May 24, 1810).

> St. Augustine's Church
>
> On the 20th of June next will be performed at the Church of St. Augustine, a Grand Selection of Sacred Music from the oratorios of Handel, Haydn, and Graum and from the works of Hasse, Pergolesi, Mozart, Dr. Arnold, R. Taylor, under the direction of Mr. Benjamin Carr.
> Assistant directors are Messrs. R. Taylor and Schetkey.

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[7] In 1800 the rural population in America outnumbered the urban population by 15:1.

The list of singers for this concert included persons from New York and Baltimore. The program, the largest part of which was taken with the "Stabat Mater" of Pergolesi, a "Te Deum" of Graum, " and "The Creation" of Haydn, was apparently so succesful with tickets limited to 1, 000 at two dollars each, that another similar concert was scheduled several years later. On February 28, 1814 the Aurora advertised another concert at the Church of St. Augustine "equal to, if not superior, to what was exhibited on the 20th of June, 1810." That concert was a very substantial one, including works by Handel, Stanley, Corelli, Carr, Wesley, Harrington, Haydn and Arnold. Concert programs were ecumenical in those days.

Co-existent with this fine art tradition was an aspect of sacred music which might be designated as popular. This music was performed regularly at the various church services held in every town. Certain psalm and hymn tunes, as well as anthems and fuging-tunes, were sung repeatedly, and were well-known by people over a wide area. The consistent popularity of certain pieces of music makes possible the identification of a list of most popular tunes[8] which is useful in defining trends in popular taste.

That which might be designated as folk was represented by the extensive body of folk hymns or "spiritual songs" which were sung, mostly by the rural people. These tunes, often secular in origin, were not immediately printed, but passed by oral tradition throughout certain sections of the country.

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[8] This list of popular tunes is developed in Chapter III.

Although concerts of the classical sacred music of fine art composers were heard in urban society, such concerts as that of Benjamin Carr described earlier accounted for only a small fraction of the total musical performances. A study of musical activities in Philadelphia, for example, revealed that formal secular concerts outnumbered sacred concerts by 15:1. Moreover, the two together accounted for only 13 per cent of the total musical activity in a single year. One-half of the musical activities were associated with the secular theater, while dancing and balls accounted for another large fraction.[9] Although sacred fine art concerts were vastly outnumbered by secular concerts, one has no accurate way of estimating the number of sacred concerts, consisting of more popular styles, held under the auspices of individual churches, societies or singing schools. What is implied, however, is that the secular concert was well-established as a professional musical activity, whereas very few sacred concerts were professional in the same sense. This suggests that sacred music in urban America was considered to be apart from or separate from the secular fine art tradition.

In rural society, on the other hand, sacred folk music seems to have been much more a part of the daily life of the people who sang it, and consequently had a much more assured place in the folk tradition. Perhaps this was possible because the folk did not separate secular and sacred elements so completely, but allowed the secular to mingle with the sacred in art as well as in life. This does not mean that large quantities of purely secular folk songs did not exist. It simply means that, relatively speaking, sacred music appeared to have had a much more important place in American folk art, than in American fine art. Fine art compartmentalizes while folk art generalizes.

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[9] James W. Hall, "Musical Events in Philadelphia: 1800-1820, as noted in The Philadelphia General Advertiser 'Aurora,'" (unpublished manuscript study).

Somewhere between the fine art tradition and the folk tradition was the popular sacred music tradition, particularly as found in the tune-book. Some tune-books contained anthems and tunes composed by or derived from European masters of the fine art tradition. Other tune-books contained a number of folk hymns, taken from the songs in circulation in rural areas. The majority of the music in most tune-books, however, consisted of psalm and hymn tunes in use over a period of time which were used in both urban and rural areas for regular church worship services, for choir anthems and for singing schools. Although this music was used primarily for religious worship, it was not limited to that use, for these tunes were sung in homes and for social occasions, as well as in church. For most of the mass of Americans, especially in New England, New York, the Middle Atlantic states, and the new regions of the Ohio Valley and Northwest, it was the principal form of sacred music, and was accorded an important place within the total musical activity of these people. While secular theater and song continued to dominate the musical life of the period, particularly in the urban centers, sacred music held its place and was widely encouraged and performed on a regular basis. Accordingly, the use of the tune-book, as the principal source of sacred music, was not a peripheral activity or localized practice; its use was widespread and regular, with an established and significant place within the customary musical activity of Americans.

C. AN AESTHETIC DOCTRINE FOR SACRED MUSIC IN AMERICA: 1800-1820

The question of taste is central to an understanding of the arts in America in the early years of the nineteenth century. Caught in the cross-currents of nationalism, artistic doubt and democratic dogma, the prevailing attitudes as to what constituted proper taste in the arts underwent considerable change. Such currents were felt as strongly in the traditionally conservative area of sacred music as in any of the more secular artistic pursuits. During this period of debate, self-examination, and controversy, a considerable number of clergymen delivered lectures, sermons, and essays, some of which were printed, while musicians noted their views in the prefaces to tune-books. In these writings they tried to define sacred music, its purposes, its relation to other types of music, the historical precedents for music in Christian worship, the styles of music appropriate to the church, and the manner in which such music was to be performed. Although the writings do not agree on all points, the body of material, taken together, describes an aesthetic doctrine for sacred music in America during that period.

The men who wrote these essays can be divided into two somewhat different groups: clergymen and musicians. Most of the clergymen were rather well-educated by contemporary standards and were located geographically in the New England area. Little comparable material is available from other geographical areas and from men of lesser education. On the other hand, the musicians who compiled tune-books and wrote the introductory essays were in varying degrees less-well educated than the clergymen. Some of the tune-book compilers were well educated, however, and a few were ordained men. Many were from the New England area, although a somewhat wider geographical spread is represented. Consequently there was a considerable degree of overlapping and influence between the two groups. On the whole, however, the writings of the clergy were more philosophical, aesthetically oriented, while the writings of the musicians were more pragmatic and functionally oriented. This section will outline an aesthetic doctrine of sacred music as described by the clergymen. Extensive use of the exact words of the writer is used to preserve the original expression of the ideas presented. Chapter V will outline the more pragmatic positions of the psalm tune composers and tune-book compilers on the question of musical taste. In general, however, both clergymen and musicians reveal a well-unified aesthetic doctrine which defines an American approach to sacred music. The tune-book reflects the cross-currents of the period and its role is thus both a source for the definition of this aesthetic doctrine and, at the same time, a fulfillment of it.

1. Sacred Music according to the Clergymen[10]

It will come as no great surprise to find that most of the writings of clergymen give a very high place to music in the liberal arts and sciences. Music is both an art and a science. It is an art in that it cannot be limited or restricted by rules, but depends on the "powers, abilities, and genius of the writer."[11] Rather than by rules, the artist is regulated and guided by the "improved taste of mankind" and by "nature and propriety" which direct the "effusions of the mind." At the same time, music is a science, in the neo-classic sense, in that music is "regulated by measure, harmony, cadence, accent, mode."[12]

> Music may be considered both as an art, and as a science. Music, as an art is extensive, copious and exceedingly complicated. As a science, it comprehends, in a degree, almost every other science.[13]

This concept of music as a science is an extension of the medieval philosophical concept of music. In that system the physical attributes of music were understood to have metaphysical significance which revealed the workings of the universe. Consequently music was a proper human activity through which God could be addressed. Such a concept placed great emphasis on the mathematical ratios ordering the interval and scale relationships between musical tones. The complexity of such relationships "exceed all the calculations of the mathematician."[14] These relationships, such as the octave (2:1) and the various keys, are, therefore, not "the offspring of a heated imagination" nor do they grow "out of the wild fancies of extravagance and folly;" they are not "the product of chance, nor the result of artificial signs and rules of man's invention;"[15] rather, these principles exist in nature and are therefore "inherent" in the constitution of the universe, and are inseparable from its existence."

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[10] See listing at the end of this chapter.

[11] Hubbard, *Essay*, p. 4.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Law, *Essays*, p. 3.

> For is it only by the agitation of the surrounding atmosphere, that the ear is affected by the power of sounds, must not the quality of these sounds be regulated by the different arrangement of the various particles of the air? and consequently must not the air itself possess those established laws, upon which are founded all the varieties of semitones and octaves, of concords and dischords.[16]

Such ideas were verified in the Pythagorean principles of harmony. So close was music to the basic principle of the universe that it was thought to be "coeval with the creation."[17]

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[14] Ibid., p. 4.

[15] Winchell, An Address, p. 5.

[16] Ibid., p. 6.

[17] Worcester, Address, p. 4.

> To ask, therefore, why there should exist such a principle as the power of sounds, is to ask, why there should be an order in the works of creation? why all bodies should possess the power of attraction, of gravitation and cohesion? The voice of nature is the voice of melody and praise; and the laws of nature is but another name for harmony itself.[18]

Music, by exemplifying these eternal, unchanging principles, was truly a science, but, exactly because of the mystery which the universe held, music was also an art.

> All nature produceth sound, all solid bodies, and all fluids, either by action or repulsion, and echo and re-echo the praises of the Creator; and the utmost stretch of human philosophy can never fathom the depths of the nature of this art.[19]

Music, then, without being specifically designated as sacred or for church use, was by nature involved with the divine. "Theology and music unite and move hand in hand through time, and will continue eternally to illustrate, embellish, enforce, impress and fix in the attentive mind, the grand and important truths of Christianity."[20] "There is nothing in nature which as much resembles the Deity as music."[21]

Another important attribute of music which these writers found interesting, aside from its mathematical link with the universe, was its ability to induce intense psychological effects upon the human being. Taking a cue from the Platonic doctrine of ethos, the writers claimed for music the power to work great influences on the psychological state of the individual. Whereas speech conveyed only thoughts, the "natural" language of the understanding, "music was capable of conveying feelings, the "natural language of the heart."[22] Since music came to the heart through the ear, one of the higher sensory organs of the body, a corollary theory of the senses was necessary. Traditionally the senses were considered the baser animal aspects of the human frame while only the intellect could participate purely in the higher spiritual life. Such an idea can be found running through the Reformed theologies of the continent and England, and in the thought of the New England divines.[23] This idea was a scripturally-based denial of the physical-spiritual unity of man, and a noble, if impractical, attempt to direct man toward his noblest capacities—his reason and his spirit. "Ye are not of the flesh, but of the spirit"[24] said the scripture; this phrase became an important aspect of seventeenth and eighteenth century New England practice.

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[18] Winchell, op. cit., p. 7.

[19] Law, Essays, p. 4.

[20] Ibid., p. 5.

[21] Emmons, Discourse, p. 6.

By the nineteenth century, however, under the influence of early romanticism, a renewed interest developed in the sensual, emotive states of the human. The impressions gained through the higher senses—the ear and the eye--were given a middle role between the level of animal gratifications on the one hand, and pure intellect on the other. Thus

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[22] Emmons, Discourse, p. 6.

[23] See Perry Miller, "The Nature of Man," in The New England Mind, The Seventeenth Century (New York, 1939; 1961), pp. 239-279.

[24] Romans 8:9.

"sensations excited by the instrumentality of the eye and ear, are conceived to partake of a more refined and spiritual character."[25]

> There are but three mediums through which we derive all our happiness; the sensual, the organic, and the intellectual. The sensual is that which we receive through the faculties of touching, tasting and smelling; the organic, that of the eye and ear; the intellectual, that of the reflections of our own minds. The organic pleasures are superior to the sensual, and the intellectual superior to the organic.
>
> With the sensitive part of our nature, music, as far as we are acquainted, has no concern; and it holds connexion with the intellectual only through the medium of the eye and the ear. The organic pleasures, therefore, holding a middle rank between the sensual and intellectual, elevate us as much above the former as they leave us below the latter.[26]

Such a moderation of the attitude toward the senses had, of course, considerable impact on the relationship between the protestant churches and the arts throughout the remainder of the century. However, restraint was still necessary; the higher senses were, after all, capable of deceiving the intellect and plunging one into animalistic sin.

Music, then, was by its very nature sacred. Nevertheless, not all music was suitable for use in the worship of God. Man had taken music and, in many instances, had perverted it from its intended purpose. In so doing, man had produced much light and trivial music which did no honor to the Almighty. Thus music could be divided into two general types: sacred and profane (or secular).[27] Some writers prefer the general descriptions, light and airy music, suitable for feelings of hilarity and mirth; harsh and rousing music for provoking courage and martial feelings; and grave and solemn music, which speaks to the inner spirit of the hearer.[28] Different terms were employed, but most of the writers distinguished these general types of music. The distinction was made, remarkably, not between the forms, styles, or other characteristics of the music itself, but between the several psychological states which music could induce.

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[25] Dana, *Address*, p. 5.

[26] Winchell, *Address*, p. 8.

[27] Law, *Essays*, Second number, p. 9.

> One species of music will excite pity, lenity, tenderness and love. Another species of it will excite in the hero, the spirit of courage and contempt of death, and will urge him on to the field of battle. Another will excite grief, sorrow and mourning. Another will excite the solemn, the reverential and the devout feelings of piety and love.[29]

Because of this unique ability of music to exercise power over the psychological state of man, the writers sought to limit music to be used in worship to that which would guard "against the evil propensities of the heart," lead "the soul in the paths of reason and propriety," excite "pious feelings," and promote "solemn devotion."[30] True sacred music, whether instrumental or vocal, should have as its design "to produce agreeable and lively sensations within."[31] Music was deemed a constituted expression of devout affections. When one wished to express strong emotion, music was thought to be the natural language in which those emotions should be expressed. Since religion itself required the highest affections and strongest emotions, music was the logical and appropriate medium for the expression of religious worship.[32] One writer, somewhat illogically, carried the point one step further to argue that since the natural aptitude of music "is to express devout affections we can easily infer that it was designed for that purpose."[33] This strong aptitude often led men to confute music and religion. That such confusion was possible only further showed the natural "fitness in music, as an appointed outward sign, to represent the inward emotions of piety."[34]

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[28] Bascom, Discourse, p. 10.

[29] Law, Essays, pp. 7, 8.

[30] Ibid., p. 8.

[31] Lyman, Design and Benefits, p. 7.

Sacred music was thought to have two basic purposes in worship: first, that it be useful that Christians might "express . . . devout affections toward God, and make melody in the heart to the Lord"[35] in the natural language of the heart; and second, that it communicate to the worshipper an emotive state of mind suitable for worship. Sacred music thus functioned both on the worshipper as well as through the worshipper. It was a two-way communication between the individual and the Almighty, conducted in a special language--the language of the heart and of God.

Andrew Law divides sacred music into oratorical music (anthems, set pieces, fugues), and church music.

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[32] Woods, Discourse, pp. 4, 5.

[33] Ibid., p. 5.

[34] Ibid., p. 9.

[35] Emmons, Discourse, p. 12.

> Church music is a species of tune adapted to general subjects, and may be sung with propriety in different psalms and hymns; that is to say, ten, fifteen or twenty psalms or hymns, may be selected of the same measure or feet, and of the same metre which are all of a similar subject; and a tune may be selected which is adapted to the subject, and may be sung with propriety to each and every one of these psalms and hymns, and a large number of tunes may be found equally well adapted to each of these psalms and hymns, and these tunes may be applied as occasion may require.[36]

Not all of the protestant and other dissenting groups were able to justify the use of music as fully as the writers mentioned above, and many contested the relative extent to which music was to be allowed in the place of worship. Consequently, nearly all of the writers felt compelled to explore the historical precedents for the use of music in the worship of God, both in the Christian church, and in the religious rites of the ancient world.

The writers consulted the scriptures and there found ample evidence in support of the use of music in the worship of God. Music was, after all, found in the very creation of the universe.

> When the great Architect of the Universe laid the foundation of the earth, "the morning stars sang together."[37]

Each sermon or lecture contains an eloquent section describing the early uses of music; in such a section the clergyman revealed his erudition and frequently displayed a knowledge of European texts on the subject.[38] Music descended from Jubal, in the seventh generation from Adam, "the father of those who handle the harp and the organ."[39] The music of the Jews was especially mentioned.

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[36] Law, Essays, No. 2, p. 10.

[37] Coffin, Address, p. 9.

> In the time of Moses we find Miriam, the prophetess, leading the choir of Israelitish women, in songs of praise to their great deliverer, and accompanying their voices with the timbrel. We likewise find, that the song of Moses was written in poetry, undoubtedly for the purpose of being sung by the choirs of the Israelites. But the Jewish music does not appear to have obtained its greatest perfection till the inspired son of Jesse assumed the harp. In his and his son's reign, it arrived at its highest degree of perfection. Here we find it employed in uttering the devout effusions of the heart, and rendering praises to the great JEHOVAH.[40]

Other empires were cited for their use of music:

> In the earliest records of Egypt, we have distinct notices of their musick, both vocal and instrumental. It was in the first ages of their history, that the clans of Greece were charmed into order and civilization, by the lyres of Orpheus, Musaeus, and Amphion. Rome, either in her rudest or most splendid time, was never without musick.[41]

Much of the music of the ancients, however, was of the "light and airy" variety, and thought to be not suited to the worship of the church.

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[38] Among the books listed as sources by the various writers are the following: Avison, "Essay on Musical Expression"; Dr. Beattie, "Essay on Music and Poetry,"; "Essay on Musical Expression"; Brown, "Essay on Music," "Dissertation on Poetry and Music"; Busby, *Dictionary of Music*; Burney, *History of Musick*; Callcott, John Wall (1766-1821), *A Musical Grammar in Four Parts*, 1st American Edition from last London Edition (Boston [1810]); Vicessimus Knox, "Essay on Music"; Kaime, *Introduction to the Elements of Criticism*; J. J. Rouseau, *Musical Dictionary*.

[39] Caleb Emerson, *Discourse*, p. 5.

[40] Hubbard, *Essay*, p. 4.

[41] Worcester, *Address*, pp. 5, 6.

> . . . not only the Jews, the Babylonians, and the Grecians, but the most rude and uncivilized nations, have been fond of musick at their festival entertainments. As the laughter of fools, on such occasions, is like the crackling of thorns under a pot; so there is a certain kind of musick, which is directly calculated to excite vain mirth, and gratify every natural feeling of the human heart. It was such light and airy musick that Solomon approved, patronized, and employed in the days of his folly. And it is such musick, that is now the most admired and cultivated by the sons of pleasure, who give themselves up to vain amusements and recreations.[42]

In spite of the presence of vain music in all ages, however, "religious music has always held a decided pre-eminence."

> In Egypt the priests were the principal musicians, and that which accompanied their religious rites was their best musick. Of all the musick of Greece, Plato wished to hear only that which was sacred to the gods. In the land of Israel, there was no other musick to be compared with that of the temple. Nor less decidedly, in all Christian ages and countries, has sacred musick held, in the judgment of the best ears, a high preeminence over all other kinds. Nay, it is in Christian countries and in Christian churches, that this divine art has attained its highest perfection.[43]

The history of music is then traced through the medieval studies of Guido Aretino [Guido d'Arezzo], who was credited with the invention of the stave and proper regulation of the musical scale, and John de Muris [Jean de Muris] who "invented the musical characters now in use."

Most of the writers included in this survey must be considered as sympathetic to the movement which sought to bring about reforms in American church music. This movement for reform began in the last years of the eighteenth century, and was primarily a reaction against the elaborate, rhythmically intricate, fuging pieces which had become widely accepted and performed by singing schools and choirs in the 1770's and 1780's. During the earlier period the choir came to be accepted as a special group with its own seating place in the church,[45] and with that acceptance came a sudden elaboration of church music. The anthem and set piece were introduced, representing an elaborate departure from the simple practice of psalmody.[46] The fears of those who had opposed the movement toward "regular singing" during the first half of the eighteenth century seemed justified. Spurred by the sudden demand for choir training and a body of material to sing, many an ambitious man with a smattering of musical knowledge fashioned himself a teacher of singing, and travelled about the country teaching singing schools, composing and publishing tune-books for use in the schools. The best known of these masters include William Billings, Lewis Edson, Daniel Read, and a long list of less well-known figures.[47] The "primitive" compositions of these masters were a source of considerable dismay for the reformers.

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[42] Emmons, Discourse, pp. 9, 10.

[43] Worcester, Address, p. 7.

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[45] See Alan Clark Buechner, "Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England, 1760-1800," (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1960); also see Chapter IV in the present study.

[46] See Ralph T. Daniel, "The Anthem in New England Before 1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955).

[47] Andrew Adgate, Supply Belcher, Daniel Belknap, Jonathan Benjamin, Asahel Benham, Amos Bull, Jacob French, Simeon Jocelin, Jacob Kimball, Timothy Swan, Abraham Wood, Justin Morgan, Thomas Lee, Jr., and others. See Allen P. Britton, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-books to 1800 (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1949), for more specific studies of the above mentioned composers.

Another source of dissatisfaction for the reformers was the light and trivial music in vogue in areas of religious revival; this music exercised considerable influence in certain areas of the West, and by the early nineteenth century was extending throughout the back country areas of the older states. This movement, nominally the "second great awakening," was largely generated by rapidly multiplying groups of Methodist, Baptists, Cumberland Presbyterians and other smaller groups, such as the Disciples. These groups did not place the same emphasis on the practice of psalmody as did the more conservative churches; the hymnody of John Wesley and Isaac Watts was introduced on a widespread scale; these hymns were literally "sung to pieces" and a vigorous, emotional and popular brand of camp-meeting hymn grew out of the enthusiastic religious exercises. As the awakening spread from place to place, so did the accompanying emotional "excesses"; by the second decade of the nineteenth century these manifestations had become not only a threat to the established practices of the East, but a powerful force for change. As Gaustad says, the churches of the West were "reconquering the East." Thus, at the very time the reformers were attempting to improve the standards of sacred music by decrying the practices of self-trained native masters, a new and greater threat was emerging in a popular mass form from another quarter.

The protest of the reformers, then, was in two directions: first it was directed against the,

> . . . many musical composers utterly destitute of just musical ideas. Inflated with a little knowledge of their gamut, or of the diatonic scale, they imagine themselves qualified to write musick; and their tunes are a mere rhapsody of sounds, without subject, without skill, without sentiment, and without sense. As well might the mere school-boy, as soon as he attains to a little smattering of his grammar, put himself forward to write homilies and hymns for the public; and as well might his low, incoherent, and senseless compositions be adopted for the edification of our religious assemblies.[48]

The itinerant music masters never seem to have carried with them the highest personal reputation, thus bringing additional censure on their activities. One writer argued a preference for instrumental music to the offensive character of a singing master:

> Who will not say, it is not as conducive to the purposes of piety to have the music of an organ, as of an infidel, profane, intemperate and adulterous master of the art. Too many, alas! of our teachers and performers in sacred melody, have proven that they are deserving of no better description. . . . Let the organ, the flute, the violin or any other instrument be my guide in devotional exercises of praise rather than these miscreants from stews; from grog-shops, and deistical clubs. If musick must be performed . . . let it rather be by an inoffensive instrument than by a lump of pollution--a mere bloat of vanity, though in the form of a man.[49]

The second direction of protest by the reformers was aimed at the spread of the revivalistic hymnody and songs into worship.

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[48] Worcester, Address, p. 17.

[49] Lyman, Design and Benefits, pp. 9, 10.

> . . . there are many hymns or sacred songs extant, utterly unfit for sacred use: many which are trivial, low, and impure in their style; many which are only the effusions of ignorance, of fanaticism, or of animal fervour; many which have no elevation of character above the most worthless ballads or doggerels. Such especially are a considerable part of the hymns, in _sectarian use in our country_;[50] and of a character similar to that of the hymns themselves, are the tunes to which they are sung. They are tunes originally composed for those miserable verses, and by persons as ignorant of what belongs to good psalmody, as those by whom the verses were written; or else song tunes, or marches, or even dancing tunes, accommodated to the meter, and adopted for religious use!—Is there nothing of impiety, nothing of profanation in this? . . . Is there anything in the singing of such hymns to such tunes, which can be regarded as a proper expression of the truly pious heart?[51]

Were not music believed to exert such an influence on the mind of the worshipper, such arguments as the above would have been unnecessary. But the strong belief that music was in some way a manifestation of the oneness of God in the universe made the treatment of music in the church a basic question.

> . . . the influence of musick on the moral taste is great, and the influence of psalmody in respect to religion, vastly important. Genuine psalmody tends to promote genuine religion; spurious psalmody tends to promote spurious religion: and some kinds of spurious religion are probably more promoted by a spurious species of psalmody, if psalmody it may be called, than by any other means.[52]

The problem of the reformer was, of course, the age old problem which has plagued all students of sacred music throughout history, i.e., which is more important—music or text? Music when joined with a sacred text heightens and lends expressive power to that text; the combination produces a special sacred language, suitable for use with the holy of holies. Such was the intent of music in the synagogue, the medieval church, and the Genevan church. But throughout history, there has been a constant tendency for the musical, artistic aspect of this liaison to become more elaborate and ornate through the addition of melodic ornamentation (as in Gregorian chant) or harmonic elaboration (as in counterpoint). Several popes attempted to bring reform to church music by ordering a simplification of the music employed in worship. John Calvin sought to correct the Roman Catholic abuses of music by restricting its use to unison, unaccompanied singing of the psalms, and Zwingli and some Anabaptist reformers, recognizing the inevitable conflict between music and the word, sought to eliminate music entirely from the church. The American reform movement must be viewed from this perspective, for it inherited the traditional Reformed-Calvinist suspicion of the art-for-art's sake attitude. The reformers were typically pragmatic in their approach to the arts and music; the criterion for their standard of taste was the ability of the music to function as an aid to worship. Does this music work toward establishing the proper mood, the proper expression, the proper attitude of heart on the part of the worshipper? Such questions placed the reformers in the mainstream of those who sought to keep the fine distinction which made music the handmaid of religion on the one hand, and which permitted music to supplant religion on the other.

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[50] Italics added.

[51] Worcester, _Address_, pp. 17, 18.

[52] _Ibid._, p. 19.

The reformers offered definite alternatives for what they considered to be poor musical practice. Almost to a man they used the nebulous term taste as a requisite or standard against which to evaluate the music of the church. Proper taste, a highly relative concept discussed elsewhere in this chapter, has for the reformers a very particular meaning; taste is the acceptance and appreciation of the best European (and English) musical styles. Of the nineteen sermons, essays and lectures which were examined, the following breakdown was found:

Figure I. Sermons, Essays and Lectures

Total Items Examined............................	19	
Number of Items clearly advocating reform of Sacred Music	14	73.7%
Number of Items clearly advocating the use of European models and music	11	57.9%

Clearly the tone of these writings is in favor of imitation of European models and a reform of American sacred music from the light and involved styles of the late eighteenth century. Moreover, no writer actually opposes reform, or advises retention of the older standards for sacred music.

The importation and imitation of European musical taste—the "music of the best masters"—is a major consideration in assessing the musical aesthetic of the period 1800-1820. Coming in the wake of a period of vigorous championing of American ways and a nationalistic rejection of European mores, typified by the wide public praise for American institutions, life and art, and such super-nationalistic pieces as Barlow's Columbiad (1807), Carr's Federal Overture (1798) and Dunlap's The Glory of Columbia (1798), came the inevitable reaction by knowledgeable people against the idea that a thing was good simply because it was American. This reaction set off what is probably the central dispute of the period. Moreover, since it first occurred in the eastern urban areas which had the closest cultural contacts with the Old World, it produced an artistic split in taste between the people of the cities and the folk of the rural and western areas. The tune-books show this split clearly.[53]

Few writers disparage the potential talents of American music-masters or the amount of musical activity taking place. One writer, remarking on the quantity of publications, notes that "a foreigner might be led to suppose this land to be a second Italy for the cultivation of music."[54] But the critical issue is the state of musical taste. The foreigner would soon discover that America was not Italy. "Unless the gift of nature be cultivated and improved, the music must be rude and barbarous."

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[53] See Chapter V.

[54] Caleb Emerson, Discourse, p. 8.

> And, indeed, it is owing to scientifical improvements that this art has been raised to such a degree of perfection in foreign nations. Hence the European music—the works of the immortal Handel and Arne, will ever, perhaps, be admired as the standard of excellency so long, as there is an ear, that can discern, or a soul that can feel the powers of music. It is from these models that a *correct musical taste is to be formed*;[55]

Works of the proper taste for religious worship must be sought "in the works of the great European authors. It is in the school of these eminent masters of the science, and there alone, that we can learn the full power of musick, and feel all its resistless attractions."[56] This same theme is reiterated again and again in the essays of the period:

> Some of the best British and other European publications have reached America, and had a happy influence upon those, who have been capable of discerning and imitating the beauties of their no less simple, than solemn and sublime musick. It is to be regretted, that so many among us undertake to write church musick, who cannot distinguish it from any other kind, and who compose so many light and airy tunes, which are much better calculated for the theatre, than for the house of God. If such novices would consult European authors, and become acquainted with their peculiar excellencies, they would cease to admire and publish their own compositions.[57]

The sharpness of criticism varies from writer to writer. The following writer, noting the considerable numbers of musicians and publications of tune-books, says:

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[55] Balch, *Address*, p. 7. Italics added.

[56] Dana, *Address*, p. 12.

[57] Emmons, *Discourse*, p. 23.

> No nation, indeed, in any quarter of the globe, can boast a greater number of composers than our own. Our collections of psalmody are as numerous as we could wish; and they contain almost everything—but that which is worthy of the name of sacred music.[58]

Less sharp, but equally strong is:

> It is hoped these remarks will not be understood as a libel upon American genius: it is second to no other in the world. But, in a country where the arts and sciences are much in an inceptive state, and especially where music is not made a profession, it would be preposterous to look for that perfection, to which Europeans have arisen.[59]

Much of the praise for the sacred music of Europe, when analyzed closely, really revolves around the compositions of one composer—George Frederick Handel. By 1800 the music of Handel was gaining a prominence that would persist in the programming of concerts throughout the century and, to a lesser extent, to the present day.

> Few writers have given us specimens of the sublime. Amongst these, Handel undoubtedly stands first. His Grand Hallelujah, and his chorus, Break forth into joy, in the Messiah, are excellent specimens of this style.[60]

William Bascom eulogizes "we must not here pass unnoticed, the deathless name of Handel, who stands unrivalled in his compositions and in his performance upon the harpsichord and organ; and is justly styled the prince of musicians."[61] Other composers frequently mentioned are

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[58] Brown, Address, p. 18.

[59] Reuben Emerson, Oration, pp. 14, 15.

[60] Hubbard, Essay, p. 15.

[61] Bascom, Discourse, p. 8.

Giardini, A. Williams, S. Arnold, H. Purcell, and Pergolesi. To most of the writers, the excellence of the compositions of these composers is so self-obvious that they are hard-put to explain the rejection or neglect of such works in the largest number of American churches.

> To what cause are we to attribute so extraordinary a phenomenon? Shall we ascribe it to that restless spirit of innovation, which is equally absurd in its contempt for what is old, and its enthusiastic attachment to what is new? Or shall we trace it to an ambition, too prevalent in our youthful country, to be independent of Europe, not only in its politics and laws, but in its literature, science and arts?[62]

One satirical comment seems to summarize the situation:

> If the musical productions generally prevalent in our country, are genuine, those which Europe has admired for ages are worthless: for the two classes possess no single attribute in common. If our American composers have actually discovered and seized the great principles of melody, of harmony, and of the human heart, they have succeeded where BURNEY, CALLCOTT, MADAN, ARNE and HANDEL have failed. Indeed, we must, on this supposition, pronounce those celebrated authors, mere children and drivellers.[63]

A few writers, while urging reform in American sacred music, do reveal strongly nationalistic feelings, and offer encouragement for the future.

> Our own country can boast of compositions of no inconsiderable merit; and when it shall afford sufficient encouragement to the efforts of aspiring genius, may we not hope to boast of composers, who may vie even with the great masters of the art?
>
> Excellence in musical composition must originate from natural genius and attentive application. When these are united

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[62] Dana, Address, p. 13.

[63] Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

> and cherished, then, and not till then, may we expect to be honored with the appearance of distinguished American composers.[64]

Even Nathanael Emmons, for all his criticism of American church music, found some composers who were contributing toward an improved taste.

> If such novices would consult European authors . . . they would cease to admire and publish their own compositions. This censure, however, is not meant to be universal, for it is readily acknowledged, that there are some musicians of great merit in this and the other states, who are using very exertions, to reform the gross corruptions, which have long been creeping into church musick. And if they will only persevere in their united efforts, there is ground to hope, that they will happily succeed in forming the taste, and assisting the devotion of all our religious societies.[65]

Another writer excused the current poor situation on the basis that American artists had not yet had the benefit of liberal patronage from a wealthy class of interested persons.

> In our country, music, as is the case with the other fine arts, has not received sufficient patronage, to command the talents and the attention of those, who might otherwise rise to great eminence and distinction. Yet, we are not destitute of amateurs, and able performers, of music, by whose generous efforts, a general refinement of taste is rapidly progressing. And we may, not in vain, look forward to the period, when America shall be able to boast of musicians, second to none in the world.[66]

The principal criticism which the reformers brought against sacred music in America was directed to four principal areas of musical composition: "melody, harmony, accent, and expression."[67] Their basic ideals in regard to each of these areas were generally in support of simplicity and expressivity.

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[64] Caleb Emerson, Discourse, pp. 7, 8.

[65] Emmons, Discourse, pp. 23, 24.

[66] Bascom, Discourse, p. 8.

[67] Hubbard, Essay, p. 4.

The first and most expressive element of music was melody. Harmony and accent could be devised by a composer who studied the science of music and contrived to compose. But melody is the expressive element through which the composer revealed his genius.

> Melody, the harmony and sweetness of sounds, is peculiarly adapted to refine and please the mind, and give expression to the various passions of the soul . . .
>
> . . . Melody, as a divine institution, and part of the worship of God, is designed to collect the mind, —fix the attention, —compose the soul . . .[68]

Melody could have no rules prescribed, for it was the "genuine feeling of the heart, regulated and directed by the ear and the understanding . . . ."[69] The idea that the melody was the free and expressive part was illustrated frequently by examples drawn from Handel's airs.[70] Handel was elevated as the prime example of effective and affective writing of melodies and considered to be in the best European taste. Some writers thought melody so important that they questioned the use of harmonic parts in vocal music as being unnecessarily complex and as detracting from the expressivity of simple melody."[71]

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[68] Kinne, Address, pp. 6, 7.

[69] Hubbard, Essay, p. 4.

[70] "that part of music called melody, and denominated the air, . . . produces in us either pleasure, or disgust, and . . . is cheerful or grave." Reuben Emerson, Oration, p. 8.

[71] The early Lutheran chorale and the Genevan psalm tunes were sung in unison at first. This simplicity suggests the monodic style of Gregorian chant before the beginning of polyphony.

> It is a question much agitated by critics, whether harmony, the performance of different parts in unison, has a tendency to increase or diminish the effects of music. It is said, that to multiply the parts is to divide the attention, so as to prevent the impression of any one important sentiment. And if we were to examine the pieces of _some_ of our American authors as a standard, we should find that this statement is too true. _They_ have not only directed a number of _parts_ and _sounds_, but also of words, to be performed at the same time. In one instance at least, the four parts of quite a celebrated tune, are pronouncing at the same time the principal part of four different lines in the same verse. This is certainly a play of words and a corruption of music, to the disgrace of its solid beauties.[72]

Harmony was of much lesser importance to the reformers. Some were critical of the naive harmonic progressions of the earlier native music masters, but generally did not speak of harmony at all. The music of the late eighteenth century used the thorough-bass style, and the realization of the harmony was usually assumed to be a function of the keyboard performer. Since America had few musicians trained in this science of harmony, it is easy to see how the reformers might emphasize the expressive characteristics of the melody.

> Whether harmony has been any real improvement to music, has been questioned by many learned critics. It may please the ear; it may feast and delight the appetite; but can never communicate any distinct ideas . . . . /The mind/ soon cloyed with the full blaze of harmony, . . . seeks a more simple repast. Melody here presents herself, and affords the desired relief.[73]

Accent involved both rhythm and word-placement. Hubbard defined accent in vocal music as "the placing of the notes in that manner which shall co-incide with the various emphases of the words to be sung."[74] Common pronunciation is a sufficient way to determine the correctness of accent. Handel was, of course, one of the most sensitive to word placement, and, again, would be an attractive composer to emulate.

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[72] Winchell, _Address_, p. 14.

[73] Hubbard, _Essay_, pp. 8, 9.

Melody, harmony, and accent were directed toward realization of the most important aspect of music to the early nineteenth century musician: expression.

> It should be distinctly remembered, that the design of social singing, in our religious assemblies, is not sound, and it is not harmony. We can have sound without any thing characteristick of sacred musick, and we can have harmony of sound without any thing of musick appropriated to the solemnity of religious worship.
>
> The specifick design of social singing, in the publick exercise of religion, is, Impression.[75]

Embodying all of the artistic wrongs against which the reformers battled was the fuging tune. The imitative style had come from England in the eighteenth century and was employed considerably in the compositions of the late eighteenth century music masters.[76] The fuging style was "frivolous, effeminate, and highly artificial" in contrast to the "simple, grave and solemn style" proper for sacred music.[77] The main complaint against the "common" fugue, however, was that it made the communication of ideas virtually impossible. "To catch any idea from such a chaos of words, uttered at the same instant of time, a hearer must be furnished with ears as numerous as the eyes of Argus. Such fuges must be a perversion."[78] The widespread usage of the fuging style is indicated by the following statement:

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[74] Hubbard, Essay, p. 14.

[75] Burt, Address, p. 10.

[76] For a thorough study of the fuging tune the reader is referred to Irving Lowens, "The Origins of the American Fuging Tune," Journal of the American Musicological Society, VI, 1 (Spring, 1953), pp. 43-52.

[77] Woods, Discourse, p. 15.

> . . . can I name it, without exciting pain and disgust? . . . I refer to that fuging music, which, like one of the Egyptian plagues, has smitten all the borders of our land . . . . Than this style of music, what is more directly calculated to counteract the design of psalmody? Yet such music has the suffranges [sic] of a large majority of our citizens![79]

The fuging style was compared to children who,

> are pleased with the prattle of children, while they have no relish for the beauties of refined conversation . . . The multitude are more often captivated by the false flourishes and the sounding epithets of a sciolous and declamatory writer or speaker, than by the genuine as solid excellencies of the best writings or speeches. For the same reason, the light and jingling fugues of an Edson, or a Read, are preferred to the sterling compositions of a Handel, or a Giardini.[80]

This statement clearly reveals the aesthetic issue as one of taste—the taste of the cultivated against the taste of the "multitude."

CONCLUSION

The importance of the sermons and lectures to sacred music seems to have been twofold: first, a reasonably consistent aesthetic doctrine relating to the basic purpose of sacred music and the necessity for its cultivation was defined. Not so consistent are the discussions relating to matters of taste, where wide divergencies existed in different parts of the country. Second, the New England clergy were able to establish, beyond question, a place in the American churches for music properly prepared and performed. Since not all protestant traditions required music as an integral part of the liturgical service, as did the Roman Catholic tradition, the importance of the work of these clergymen for sacred music in America cannot be minimized.

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[78] Hubbard, Essay, pp. 17, 18.

[79] Reuben Emerson, Oration, p. 16.

[80] Worcester, Address, p. 20.

List of Sermons and Essays

William Balch, "An Address on Music Delivered to the Salisbury and Amesbury Singing Societies" (Newburyport, 1812).

Balch was Pastor of the Second Church in Salisbury, Mass.

William Bascom, "A Discourse, Delivered at a Singing-Lecture, in Ashburnham (Boston, 1814).

Bascom had been pastor of one of the Fitchburg Congregational Churches.

Francis Brown, "An Address on Music; Delivered before the Handel Society, Dartmouth College" (Hanover, N.H., 1810).

Brown (1784-1820) graduated from Dartmouth in 1805, became a tutor there 1806-1809 and accepted an appointment as pastor at North Yarmouth in 1810, the year of this address. He was most probably a member of the Handel Society. In 1815 he became the president of Dartmouth.
Dictionary of American Biography, Allen Johnson, ed. (1929), III, p. 114.

Federal Burt (1790-1829), "An Address Delivered at Durham, N.H. before the Old Hundred Sacred Musick Society" (Dover, 1815).

Charles Coffin, "An Address Delivered before the Rockingham Sacred Music Society" (Exeter, 1815).

Daniel Dana, "An Address on Sacred Musick, delivered at a Public Meeting of the Rockingham Sacred Musick Society" (Exeter, 1813).

Dana (1771-1859) was a Dartmouth graduate of 1788; in 1794 he assumed the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Newburyport, coming to Dartmouth in 1820 as its president for a term of one year.
National Encyclopedia of American Biography (New York, 1907), IX, p. 87.

Ferdinand Ellis, "An Address on Music, delivered to the First Baptist Singing Society" (Boston, 1806).

Caleb Emerson, "A Discourse on Music, pronounced at Amherst, N.H., before the Handellian Musical Society" (Amherst, N.H., 1808).

Reuben Emerson, A.M., "An Oration on Music, pronounced before the Handel Society, Dartmouth University" (Andover, 1814).

Nathaniel Emmons, "A Discourse, delivered . . . at a Publick Meeting of Singers" (Providence, 1806).

Emmons (1745-1840), a congregational minister and theologian is one of the better known figures of this period. A Yale graduate of 1767, he became pastor of the church at Franklin, Mass. where he remained throughout his life.
Dictionary of American Biography, VI, p. 150.

Jonathan Grout, "A Sermon, delivered, on the occasion of a meeting of a Singing School" (Northampton, 1812).

Grout was a pastor of the church in Hawley.

John Hubbard, "An Essay on Music. Pronounced before the Middlesex Musical Society" (Boston, 1808).

Hubbard (1759-1810) was an educator and lawyer, coming to Dartmouth in 1804 as Professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. He was much involved with the music society there and much loved in the community.
T. W. Herringshaw, Encyclopedia of American Biography of the Nineteenth Century (Chicago, 1898), p. 506.

Aaron Kinne, "An Address delivered to the Singing Schools . . . in Groton" (New-London, 1798).

Kinne (1745-1824) was ordained at Groton in 1770. Herringshaw, Encyclopedia, p. 558.

Andrew Law, "Essays on Music; First and Second number" (Philadelphia, 1814).

Law (1748-1821) was ordained at Hartford in 1787 and preached in Philadelphia and Baltimore. He is best remembered however as a musician, and is considered further under that activity.

William Lyman, "The Design and Benefits of Instrumental Musick" (New-London, 1807).

Lyman had his A.M. and was a clergyman from East-Haddam.

William White , "Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches" (Philadelphia, 1808).

White (1748-1836) became the first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church in America in 1786 and, with William Smith, was responsible for the American Revision of the Book of Common Prayer. He had graduated from the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) in 1765.

James Manning Winchell, "An Address on Music, delivered before the Singing Society of the Second Baptist Church in Boston."

Winchell (1791-1820) was minister of the First Baptist Church in Boston at the time this address was given.
Herringshaw, Encyclopedia, p. 1023.

Levi Woodbury, "An Oration, delivered at Hanover, N.H. . . . before the Handel, Middlesex, Handelian, & Central Musical Societies" (Amherst, 1812).

Woodbury (1789-1851), a graduate of Atkinson Academy and Dartmouth College (1809) entered law and became a well-known senator, cabinet officer, and associate justice of the supreme court. He was a liberal supporter of education, the lyceum movement, and, it appears, music.
Dictionary of American Biography, XX, p. 488.

Leonard Woods, "A Discourse on Sacred Music delivered before the Essex Musical Association" (Salem, 1804).

Woods (1774-1854), A.M., was a congregational pastor at Newbury at the time of this discourse. A graduate of Harvard (1796), he became professor of theology, at Andover, in 1808.
Dictionary of American Biography, XX, p. 502.

Samuel Worcester, A.M., "An Address on Sacred Musick, delivered before the Middlesex Musical Society and the Handel Society of Dartmouth College" (Boston, 1811).

Worcester (1770-1821) was a graduate of New Ipswich Academy and Dartmouth College (1795). He was a Hopkinsian Calvinist. He was pastor of the Tabernacle Church in Salem at the time of this address.
Dictinary of American Biography, XX, p. 529.

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTION OF THE AMERICAN TUNE-BOOK

> Every master of a town School feels privileged to print his own Books and they are worth accordingly. Next to School Books are Singing Books with this circumstance that many new editions of Singing Books have a new name even from the same author. We are now told of the Bridgewater and Norfolk Collections. For Mr. Ebeling, at his request, I attempted to collect from Mr. Holyoke, who stands among the foremost, a list of such Singing Books as he knew. The list was at first a large one and the additions have been so great that I have given over all thoughts of completing it.
>
> William Bentley*
> Diary III, p. 258, 1806.

A. INTRODUCTION

The American tune-book was widely circulated during the early nineteenth century, appearing in many editions with varying content and format; nevertheless, a reasonably consistent pattern of description emerges by which the tune-books of this period can be identified and defined. It is the purpose of this chapter to relate the insights provided by a careful examination of the tune-books, using, where appropriate, quantitative methods to determine a basic pattern of description, as well as the degree and incidence of variance around that pattern.

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*As quoted by Alan Buechner in "Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England: 1760-1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1960), p. 156.

The entire bibliography of tune-books is studied as a random sample, since the existing printed books have been preserved generally in a non-biased, random manner. For the solution of more complex problems, however, a smaller sample of fifty tune-books is employed for the sake of practical management of the materials. This sample is geographically and chronologically structured; i.e., books are selected from pre-arranged categories which are structured to account for both chronology and geographical location. Description is organized into two basic sections—bibliographical and musicological—following which a general classification of tune-books is made according to use and content.

1. The Total Number of Tune-book Editions

The bibliography, found in Appendix A of this study, lists tune-books published in the United States between the years 1801 and 1820. It includes, as a working list, 220 separate publications which appeared in a total of 377 editions or issues. Such numbers point to a remarkable Blütezeit for the tune-book when taken together with the approximately 111 individual tune-books issued in 272 editions[1] published in the period up to and including 1800. This increase in the rate of publication is a strong indication of the growth and extension of the practice of psalm and hymn singing well into the nineteenth century. It must be acknowledged that this bibliography is not complete; the bibliography itself sometimes alludes to undiscovered editions, and slightly variant imprints were sometimes issued which this bibliography does not attempt to list. Occasionally title pages were deposited for copyright but the body of the tune-book never published. Nevertheless these factors do not seem to invalidate the importance of this bibliography, nor of the general results of the study based on the list; the list itself must be considered a proper sample, as defined previously, and, in any event, the size of the sample is so large that any probability that the location of additional titles would alter the results significantly is extremely slight. In fact, the extent of the entire list is so great that the selection of a smaller sample for the study of complex problems was deemed a necessity.

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[1] Allen P. Britton, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-books to 1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1949), p. 127.

2. The Sample

In order to deal more effectively with some of the more complex problems of analysis, a representative sample of tune-books has been selected. The sample consists of fifty tune-books, or approximately one-seventh of the entire bibliography. Inasmuch as a simple random sample from the extensive bibliography might inadvertently emphasize the Boston area, particularly during the second decade of the century, the sample has been structured to more accurately represent the chronological and geographical factors in tune-book publication. Therefore, the tune-books in the bibliography have been subdivided into two chronological categories, and five geographical categories.

The chronological categories consist of two periods of ten years each: 1801-1810 and 1811-1820. Such a division makes possible the analysis of major trends in musical taste and style within the span of a single generation. Since approximately equal numbers of tune-books were published in each of the chronological periods, the sample was evenly divided to include twenty-five tune-books from each period.

The geographical categories were selected on the basis of reasonably distinct cultural areas. While it is certainly true that all areas were in at least nominal contact with one another, certain areas tended to become exposed to particular trends at earlier or later periods than others. Moreover, the relative stage of settlement and development, the uneasy relationship between urban and rural life, and the peculiar characteristics of the inhabitants in a given area, all make possible the delineation of general regions. These geographical regions are considered as having centers but not boundaries. The influence from one center reaches outward along paths of intercommunication until it meets the influence from another center at some more or less vague boundary. Thus the geographic categories are here described in terms of specific centers and regions of influence, rather than specifically bounded areas.

The first geographical category is Eastern New England. This area radiates outward from the central city of Boston and the surrounding villages of Cambridge, Dedham and Dorchester westward to Worcester, by land and sea north to Salem, Exeter (N.H.), Newburyport, Portsmouth (Me.) and Hallowell (Me.). It reaches by land south to Stoughton and Providence; by sea to New London, New Haven and New Canaan. At the extremes of the area the influences from other regions were strong. The Connecticut port cities maintained, however, close contact with Boston and with European cities.

The second category combines the major Middle Atlantic cities of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Records indicate a continuous movement by the musicians of the period between these three cities. Travelling companies which appeared in New York one month appeared in Baltimore the next. Similarly the communication between church musicians in this region is noted. Moreover, as the three cities represented the largest and most urban region in the country, they attracted a considerable number of European musicians, whose influence began to be noticed in the early nineteenth century.

The third category is a large area embracing western New England along the Connecticut river from Hartford to Northampton to Concord, then westward along the path of the migrations into Eastern New York state, including Albany, Schenectady and Troy, and later the central region, including Utica, Ithaca and Canandaigua. The population of this region was, to a large extent, a transplantation of New England inhabitants.

The fourth category is that region on the western and southern frontier which had only begun to develop interests in the arts and artistic institutions. The area is somewhat distinguished from western New York, also recently a frontier area, by the different and more mixed origins of those who peopled the region. It includes Harrisburg and Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania, Cincinnati and Zanesville, Ohio, spreads southward to Winchester and Harrisonburg, Virginia, and skips westward to Kentucky, Tennessee, and eventually St. Louis, Missouri.

The last region is defined less by geographical boundary than by the ethnic characteristics of the inhabitants. It includes the regions occupied by the German-speaking communities, primarily in eastern Pennsylvania, but also extending to Harrisonburg, Virginia. Its centers include Germantown (Philadelphia), Harrisburg, Lancaster, Bethlehem and Harrisonburg.

Doubtless these five regions could be subdivided into more unified areas, but the divisions described above seem adequate for the purposes of this study. Although tune-books do appear occasionally in advertisements in such southern cities as Richmond, Charlotteville and Charleston, these regions are not included, since, so far as is known, no tune-books were published in those cities before 1820.[2]

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[2] Charles Southgate was active in Richmond, Virginia, but his Harmonia Sacra was printed posthumously in New York.

Chronological Distribution of Tune-Books

Figure II subdivides the total tune-books published in the twenty year period into two ten-year phases.

Figure II. Publication by Ten-year Period

1801-1810	1811-1820	Total
184 editions	184 editions	368 editions

By some remarkable coincidence, an exactly equal number of tune-books is listed in this bibliography for each of the ten-year phases. The total number of editions is slightly different from the total in the bibliography since nine editions could not be categorized. The following chart further subdivides the editions into five-year intervals:

Figure III. Publication by Five-year Interval

1801-1805	1806-1810	1811-1815	1816-1820
86	98	75	107

Figure IV. Publication by One-year Period

1801 - 11	1806 - 17	1811 - 19	1816 - 21
1802 - 12	1807 - 24	1812 - 12	1817 - 22
1803 - 21	1808 - 22	1813 - 11	1818 - 26
1804 - 18	1809 - 11	1814 - 21	1819 - 17
1805 - 24	1810 - 24	1815 - 12	1820 - 21

According to Figure III, there was a gradual increase in total books published during each successive five-year interval, broken only by the sharp decline in the third such interval. This may be attributed to the diminished contact with British tune-books and the general problems associated with the War with England. The numbers published in individual years fluctuated more sharply, with the years of heaviest publication occurring in 1818, 1805, 1807 and 1810 and the lowest number published in 1801, 1809 and 1813; this pattern does not appear to be significant. More revealing is a division by geographical region, correlated with chronological period.

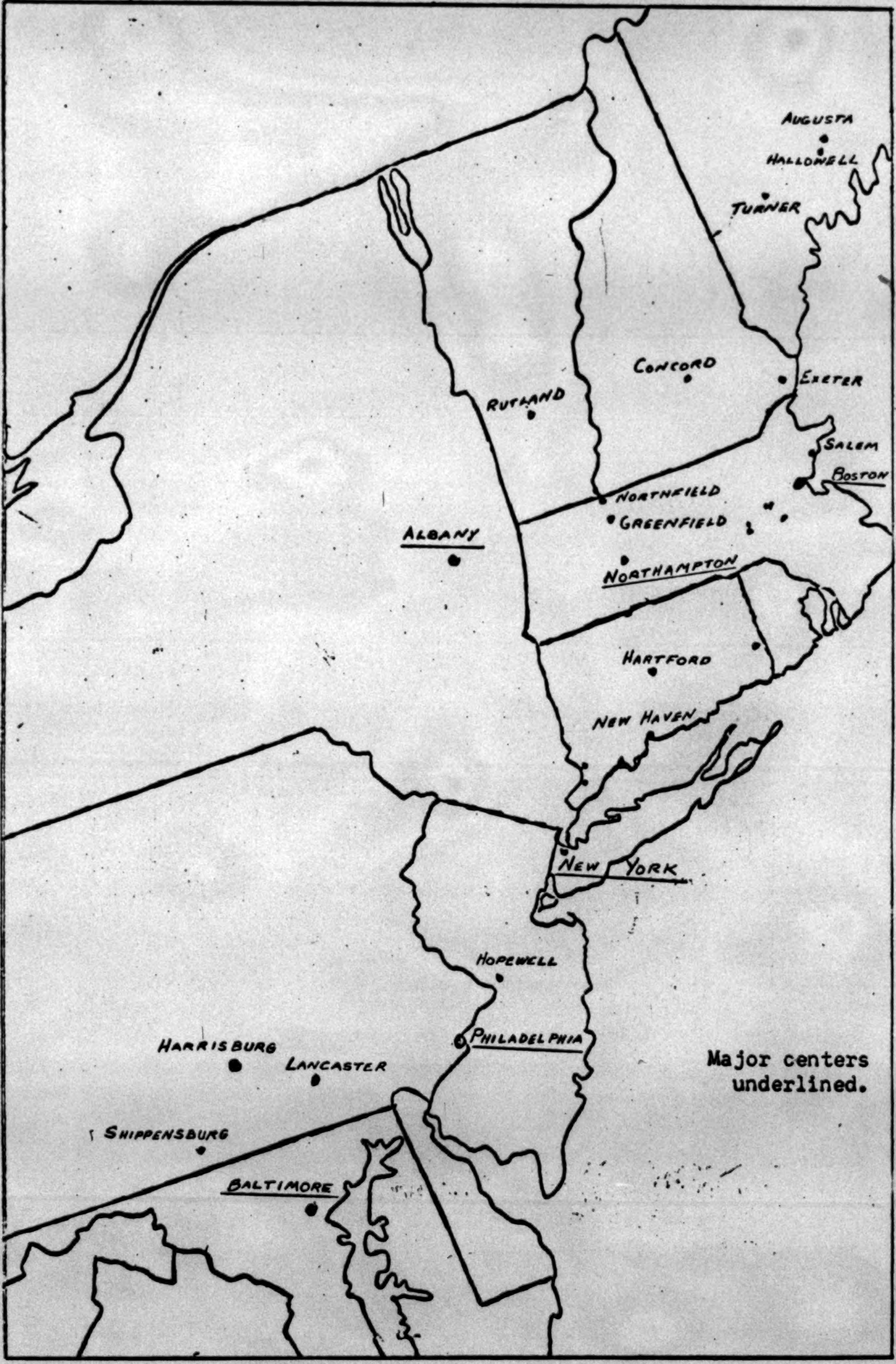
Geographical Distribution of Publication

The following chart shows the number of tune-books published in each of the five geographical regions defined earlier.

Figure V. Geographical Distribution of Publication

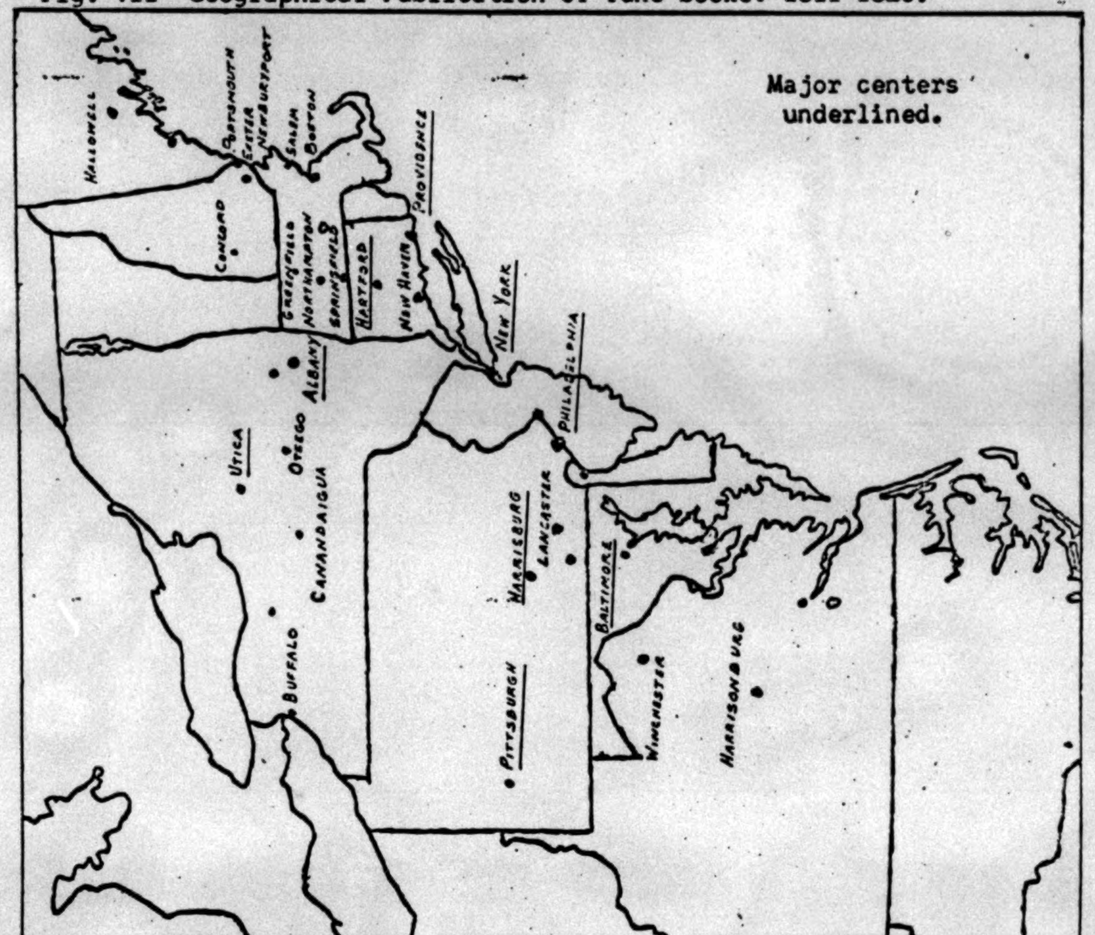
Region		Number	Per Cent
I.	Eastern New England	153	42.1
II.	Middle Atlantic	88	24.2
III.	Western New England and New York State	80	21.9
IV.	Western and Southwestern	29	8.0
V.	German-speaking	14	3.8
	Total	364	100.0

Fig. VI Geographical Publication of Tune-books: 1801-1810.


AUGUSTA
HALLOWELL
TURNER
CONCORD
EXETER
RUTLAND
SALEM
BOSTON
NORTHFIELD
GREENFIELD
ALBANY
NORTHAMPTON
HARTFORD
NEW HAVEN
NEW YORK
HOPEWELL
PHILADELPHIA
HARRISBURG
LANCASTER
SHIPPENSBURG
BALTIMORE

Major centers
underlined.

Fig. VII Geographical Publication of Tune-books: 1811-1820.


Major centers underlined.
Hallowell
Portsmouth
Exeter
Newburyport
Salem
Boston
Providence
Concord
Greenfield
Northampton
Springfield
Hartford
New Haven
New York
Albany
Otsego
Utica
Canandaigua
Philadelphia
Harrisburg
Lancaster
Baltimore
Buffalo
Pittsburgh
Winchester
Harrisonburg
Cincinnati
St. Louis

From this chart it can readily be seen that nearly twice the number of tune-books were published in eastern New England than in any other region. The Middle Atlantic and western New England-New York regions were about equal in output, while the developing western region contributed eight per cent of the total. The German-speaking areas account for only 3.8 per cent, or 14 books, of which only 6 are common tune-books. A chronological arrangement of publication in each region into ten-year phases further sharpens the patterns of printing.

Figure VIII. Geographical Regions by Ten-year Period

Region	1801-1810		Sample*	1811-1820		Sample	Total		Sample
I	90	49.5	13	63	34.6	9	153	42.1	22
II	46	25.3	6	42	23.1	6	88	24.2	12
III	39	21.4	5	41	22.5	5	80	21.9	10
IV	2	1.1	0	27	14.8	4	29	8.0	4
V	5	2.7	1	9	5.0	1	14	3.8	2
Totals	182	100.0	25	182	100.0	25	364	100.0	50

*Number of volumes in sample.

This chart shows a considerable decrease in the number of tune-books published in the eastern New England region during the second decade, and a corresponding sharp increase in the volumes from the western-southwestern region. This trend can be further refined by a subdivision into the five-year intervals.

Figure IX. Geographical Regions by Five-year Intervals

Region	1801-1805	1806-1810	1811-1815	1816-1820
I	45	44	24	32
II	17	29	20	21
III	18	19	17	24
IV	1	1	8	19
V	2	3	5	4

The most striking factors in this chart are the large increases in publication both in the western New England-New York and western-south-western regions in the last five-year interval. In that interval the combined output of these western regions (III and IV) exceeded the output of eastern New England by a comfortable margin. Further interpretation of the foregoing charts will be presented in Chapters IV and V, the discussion in this chapter being purely descriptive.

The construction of the sample required a breakdown by village or city within each region. The following table indicates the number of tune-books published in each such locale, the percentage of the region total, and, on that basis, the number of volumes in the sample allocated to each locale.

Fig. X Publication by Cities, Chronologically.

I	1801-1810			1811-1820			Total		
Boston	44	48.9	7	30	47.6	4	74	48.4	11
Exeter	15	16.7	2	7	11.1	1	22	14.4	3
New Haven	8	8.9	1	1	1.6	0	9	5.9	1
Dedham	15	16.7	2	4	6.3	1	19	12.4	3
Salem	5	5.5	1	2	3.2	0	7	4.5	1
New Canaan	1	1.1	0	0	0.0	0	1	0.7	0
New London	0	0.0	0	4	6.3	1	4	2.6	1
Hallowell	0	0.0	0	6	9.6	1	6	3.9	1
Newburypt	0	0.0	0	5	7.9	1	5	3.2	1
Providence	0	0.0	0	3	4.8	0	3	1.9	0
Andover	0	0.0	0	1	1.6	0	1	0.7	0
Cambridge	1	1.1	0	0	0.0	0	1	0.7	0
Concord	1	1.1	0	0	0.0	0	1	0.7	0
	90	100.0	13	63	100.0	9	153	100.0	22
II									
Philadela	21	45.7	3	14	33.3	2	35	39.8	5
Baltimore	12	26.1	2	15	35.7	2	27	30.7	4
New York	9	19.6	1	10	23.8	2	19	21.5	3
Wilmingtn	2	4.3	0	1	2.4	0	3	3.4	0
New Bruns	0	0.0	0	2	4.8	0	2	2.3	0
Hopewell	2	4.3	0	0	0.0	0	2	2.3	0
	46	100.0	6	42	100.0	6	88	100.0	12
III									
Hartfd.En	4	10.2	1	4	9.8	1	8	10.0	2
Springfd	0	0.0	0	1	2.4	0	1	1.3	0
Northampt	18	46.1	2	1	2.4	0	19	23.7	2
Albany-En.	14	35.9	2	16	39.1	1	30	37.5	3
Greenfld	0	0.0	0	3	7.3	1	3	3.7	1
Concord	1	2.6	0	0	0.0	0	1	1.3	0
Cooperstn	1	2.6	0	1	2.4	0	2	2.4	0
Ithaca	0	0.0	0	1	2.4	0	1	1.3	0
Utica	1	2.6	0	13	31.8	2	14	17.5	2
Canandga	0	0.0	0	1	2.4	0	1	1.3	0
	39	100.0	5	41	100.0	5	80	100.0	10
IV									
Harrisbg	1	50.0	0	9	33.4	1	10	34.5	1
Pittsburgh	0	0.0	0	5	18.5	1	5	17.2	1
Cincinnati	0	0.0	0	6	22.2	1	6	20.7	1
Winchester	0	0.0	0	3	11.1	1	3	10.3	1
Harrisonbg	0	0.0	0	3	11.1		3	10.3	
St. Louis	0	0.0	0	1	3.7	0	1	3.5	0
Shippensbg	1	50.0	0	0	0.0	0	1	3.5	0
	2	100.0	0	27	100.0	4	29	100.0	4
V									
Harrisbg	1	20.0	1	3	33.3	1	4	28.6	2
Germantn	2	40.0	0	4	44.5	0	6	42.9	0
Lancaster	2	40.0	0	1	11.1	0	3	21.4	0
Harrisonbg	0	0.0	0	1	11.1	0	1	7.1	0
	5	100.0	1	9	100.0	1	14	100.0	2

The sample, then, includes a specified number of tune-books from each of the areas mentioned above. Boston is the most important center of publication and is represented by 11 volumes in the sample; Philadelphia has 5, Baltimore 4, and New York, Exeter and Dedham 3 each. The remaining lesser centers are represented by one or two volumes. The choice of volume was made in a random manner among the available volumes in each area. In several cases the unavailability of a volume or inappropriateness of a choice made a second selection necessary. On the whole, however, the final sample seems to be a highly satisfactory representation of the entire bibliography. The volumes in the sample are listed in Figure XI below.

B. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TUNE-BOOK

1. The Anatomy of a Tune-Book

The tune-book followed a generally uniform plan of organization of its various parts. Certain of these parts were almost invariably included while others were less essential. All editions, for example, had a title page and series of tunes. Most editions contained an index and some form, however brief, of theoretical introduction to the rudiments of music. The following section describes each of these parts of a tune-book in the order in which they most frequently appeared.

Fig. XI THE TUNE-BOOK SAMPLE

1801-1810

1. Forbush, Abijah. *The Psalmodist's Assistant*, (Boston, 1803).
2. Holden, Oliver. *The Worcester Collection*, Ed.8, (Boston, 1803).
3. Jenks, Stephen. *The American Compiler*, (Northampton, 1803).
4. Brown, Bartholemew. *The Columbian and European Harmony*, Ed.2, (Boston, 1804).
5. Holyoke, Samuel. *The Christian Harmonist*, (Salem, 1804).
6. Howe, Solomon. *The Farmer's Evening Entertainment*, (Northampton, 1804).
7. Atwill, Thomas H. *The New York & Vermont Collection*, (Albany, 1805).
8. Cole, John. *The Beauties of Psalmody*, Ed.2, (Baltimore, 1805).
9. *A Gamut, or Scale of Music*, (Hartford, 1805).
10. Ingalls, Jeremiah. *The Christian Harmony*, (Exeter, 1805).
11. Law, Andrew. *The Art of Singing*, Ed.4, (Cambridge, 1803-05).
12. Maxim, Abraham. *The Northern Harmony*, (Exeter, 1805).
13. Terril, Israel. *Vocal Harmony*, No.1, (New Haven, 1805).
14. Jenks, Stephen. *The Delights of Harmony; or Union Compiler*, (Dedham, 1806).
15. Little, Wm. & Smith, Wm. *The Easy Instructor*, (Albany, 1807).
16. Read, Daniel. *The Columbian Harmonist*, Ed.3, (Boston, 1807).
17. Chapin, Nathan. *The Musical Instructor*, (Philadelphia, 1808).
18. *The Middlesex Collection of Church Music*, Ed.2, (Boston, 1808).
19. Gillet, Wheeler. *The Maryland Selection*, (Baltimore, 1809).
20. Seymour, Lewis & Thaddeus. *The New-York Selection of Sacred Music*, (New York, 1809).
21. Woodward, Charles. *Ecclesiae Harmonia*, Ed.2, (Philadelphia, 1809).
22. Boston-West Church. *A Collection of Sacred Musick*, (Boston, 1810).
23. Doll, Joseph. *Leichter Unterricht*, (Harrisburg, 1810).
24. Peck, Daniel. *A Valuable Selection*, (Philadelphia, 1810).
25. Thomson, Samuel. *The Columbian Harmony*, (Dedham, 1810).

1811-1820

26. Evans, James. *David's Companion*, (New York, 1811).

27. Hewitt, J. *Harmonia Sacra*, (Boston, 1812).

28. Kent, Emanuel. *David's Harp*, Ed.2, (Baltimore, 1813).

29. Washburn, Japheth C. *The Parish Harmony*, (Exeter,1813).

30. Worcester, Samuel. *Select Harmony: The Fourth Part of Christian Psalmody*, (Boston, 1813).

31. Wyeth, John. *Repository of Sacred Music. Part Second*, (Harrisburg, 1813).

32. Fobes, Azariah. *The Delaware Harmony*, Ed.2, (Philadelphia, 1814).

33. *A Gamut, or Scale of Music*, (Hartford, 1814).

34. Willard, Samuel. *Deerfield Collection*, (Greenfield, 1814).

35. Boston-First Church. *Sacred Musick*, (Boston, 1815).

36. Doll, Joseph. *Leichter Unterricht*, *Vol. II*, (Harrisburg, 1815).

37. Little,Wm. & Smith,Wm. *The Easy Instructor*,(Albany, 1815).

38. Lewis, Freeman. *The Beauties of Harmony*, (Pittsburgh,1816).

39. *Village Harmony*, Ed.13, (Newburyport, 1816).

40. Brown, Bartholemew. *Templi Carmina. Songs of the Temple*, Ed.5, (Boston, 1817).

41. Nevius, John W. *The New-Brunswick Collection*, (New-Brunswick, 1817).

42. Tenney, Samuel. *The Hallowell Collection*, (Hallowell,1817).

43. Boyd, James M. *The Virginia Sacred Minstrel*, (Winchester, 1818).

44. *David's Harp*, Ed.2, (New London, 1818).

45. Hastings, Thomas. *Musica Sacra*, Rev. ed.,(Utica, 1818).

46. Jenks, Stephen. *The Harmony of Zion, or Union Compiler*, (Dedham, 1818).

47. Baltimore-Reformed Presbyterian. *The Baltimore Collection*, (Baltimore, 1819).

48. Law, Andrew. *Harmonic Companion*, Ed.4, (Philadelphia, 1819).

49. Metcalf, Samuel L. *The Kentucky Harmonist*, Ed.2, (Cincinnati, 1820).

50. Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor*, Rev. ed., (Ithaca, 1820).

The title page was probably the most important part of any tune-book apart from the actual psalm tunes. Frequently a great deal of effort went into making that page attractive and appealing to the purchaser. Its purpose was to tell exactly what the content of the book was, and, like all long book titles of the period, also served as advertisement and table of contents. For this reason the full title page is quoted in the bibliography of tune-book editions in Appendix A of this dissertation.

Typically the title page began with the actual book titles since nearly all books were given a secondary, subordinate title. "LAUS DEO! THE HARMONY OF ZION, OR UNION COMPILER." The first title might be a general title, while the second named a particular collection, society, or place for which the tune-book was intended. "TEMPLI CARMINA. SONGS OF THE TEMPLE, OR BRIDGEWATER COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSIC." The contents of the collection were then listed: "Containing A Concise introduction to the Grounds of Musick. Also, A Choice Collection of Church Musick, And Anthems." If a book contained a theoretical introduction, which many did, it was customarily mentioned on the title page. Occasionally, if the compiler wished to stress a unique approach to the fundamentals, this was highlighted in the description.

> "The RUDIMENTS OF MUSIC on an improved Plan, Wherein the Naming and Timing of the Notes are familiarized to the weakest Capacity."

The "Collection of Church Musick" referred to the plain psalm tunes in the varying metres. Anthems, set pieces, odes and choruses, variously denominated by different compilers, were indicated, and, if there was some distinctive aspect to be noted about them, it was included on the title page. "Principally From European Authors," or "From the most approved Ancient & Modern Authors." This statement was frequently followed by a short indication for whom the tune-book was intended to be used. It most commonly said "Compiled for the Use of Worshipping Assemblies & Singing Societies," but sometimes was more specific: "The Whole in a familiar Style, designed for the Use of the Baptist Churches in the United States." Others said "Proper to be performed by a Choir of good Musicians Occasionally," or "Designed Principally for the Use of Churches Which Sing Without a Choir." The name of the compiler or editor usually followed. In most cases the compiler did list his name, although occasionally, particularly when a tune-book was compiled by a committee, or by a compiler specifically for a publishing society or church, the name was not printed.

The editor then frequently engaged in a touch of frivolity, entering a poem by some English poet or hymnist, or verse of scripture pertaining to music. Below are some of the selections:

> "The Singers went before with joy,
> On instruments they play'd;
> The damsels with their timbrels then,
> With beauty were array'd.
> Ps. lxviii 25.[3]

---

[3] Stephen Jenks, The Harmony of Zion (Dedham, 1818).

"There is in souls a sympathy with sounds,
And, as the mind is pitch'd, the ear is pleas'd
With melting airs, or martial, brisk, or grave:
Some chord, in unison with what we hear,
Is touch'd within us, and the heart replies."
--Cowper.[4]

1. "When lab'rers quit their cares for *rest*,
With calm content and friendship blest;
They *may* their *ev'ning* hours employ,
In gratitude and social joy.

2. *Sweetly* their tuneful voices join,
To *shew* their Maker's praise *divine*;
Sincere delight attends their songs,
In their united hearts and tongues.

3. *Domestic* pleasures cheer their mind
While male and female voices join'd;
Attract the *heart* and charm the ear,
and GOD SUPREME delights to *hear*!

4. *Thus* let our tuneful voices prove,
The means of *friendship*, *peace* and *love*;
Improv'd to *serve* and *honor* GOD,
--Prepar'd for his sublime abode."[5]

"Music has charms to soothe the savage breast,
To soften rocks, and bend the knotted oak."[6]

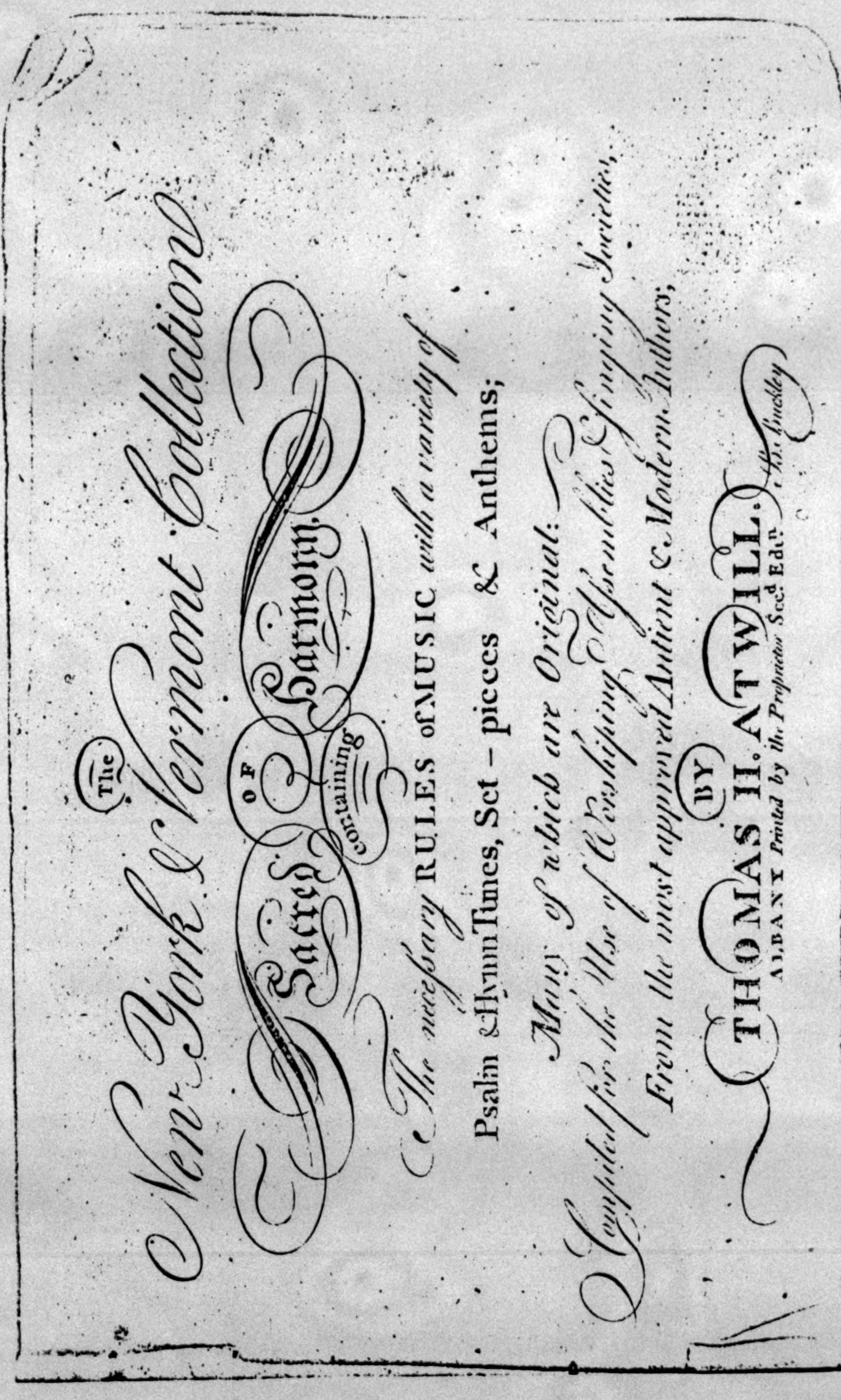
Others chose to ornament the cover in other modes, selecting a distinctive border design or employing an elaborate engraved manuscript lettering. In a few instances, a pictorial engraving, usually depicting King David playing the harp, was included.

---

[4] Bartholemew Brown, *Columbian and European Harmony* (Boston, 1804).

[5] Solomon Howe, *The Farmer's Evening Entertainment* (Northhampton, 1804).

[6] Daniel Peck, *A Valuable Selection of Sacred Music* (Philadelphia, 1810).



The

New-York & Vermont Collection

OF

Sacred Harmony

containing

The necessary RULES of MUSIC with a variety of

Psalm & Hymn Tunes, Set - pieces & Anthems;

Many of which are Original:

Compiled for the Use of Worshiping Assemblies & Singing Societies,

From the most approved Antient & Modern Authors;

BY

THOMAS H. ATWILL.

ALBANY Printed by the Proprietor Secd Edn.

A. Buckley

Fig. XII An Engraved Title Page.

The particulars of business appeared at the bottom of the title page, including the place of publication and place of printing, the method of printing, and date of printing. "Dedham:—Printed by Daniel Mann, For The Author, Proprietor Of The Copy-Right, 1818." The Easy Instructor (1815) was "Printed, Typographically, At Albany, By Websters & Skinners and Daniel Steele, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right,) Packard & Van Benthuysen, Typographers." The first named parties were the publishers in this case, while the last named are the printers. Some title pages also indicate where the tune-book was sold and give the price.

> Printed at Northampton,
> by Andrew Wright—For the Author
> Sold by him, in Greenwich; and by the Booksellers
> in Northampton, Boston, N. York, Albany, Hartford
> Exeter, Providence, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and
> Country Merchants. - Price 25 Cents - 1804.[7]

The copyright notice was usually placed on the verso of the title page. After the War for Independence, the protection of the English copyright laws was no longer applicable. During the Confederation it had been necessary to copyright a publication in each of the colonies. Congress eventually enacted a copyright law; most tune-books, therefore, published during the early nineteenth century include a copyright notice.[8] Some even state on the title page, "Published according to Act of Congress." The copyrights were registered in the individual states however. The following is a copyright registration for the state of Pennsylvania:[9]

---

[7] Solomon Howe, The Farmer's Evening Entertainment (Northampton, 1804).

> District of Pennsylvania, to wit.
>
> Be it remembered, That on the nineteenth day of October, in the fortieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1815, JOSEPH DOLL, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:
>
> [Full book title inserted]
>
> In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned;" And also to the act, entitled "An act supplementary to an act, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."
>
> D. CALDWELL, Clerk of the
> District of Pennsylvania.

There is considerable question how effective these copyrights were. Much borrowing occurred between tune-books, especially as the tune-books moved to the southwest. Moreover, American compilers apparently copied from English tune-books regularly, judging from the number of tunes taken from "the best European authors." Daniel Read said in the Preface of The Columbian Harmonist (Boston, 1807):

---

[8] Irving Lowens traces the tribulations of one tune-book compiler in "Andrew Law and the Pirates," in Music and Musicians in Early America (New York, 1964), pp. 58-88.

[9] Joseph Doll, Leichter Unterricht (Harrisburg, 1815).

> Music from other publications has been copied into this without any variation, except in a few instances where a slight alteration was obviously an emendation; but where different copies of the same tune have appeared in different publications, the Editor has chosen that which appeared to him to be the best.

Read, however, was careful enough to give credit to the composers involved. Many did not do this, however.

Some tune-books contained an "advertisement" or a "preface." The exact purpose of these two parts is not clear, for the two were used interchangeably. The advertisement was usually a short paragraph or two, outlining the reasons for publishing the volume, and thus introducing it to the public. The preface, by contrast, was frequently a more lengthy discussion, outlining not only the reasons for publishing but also presenting the compiler's attitude toward sacred music. Some compilers discussed the malpractices of church music, and offered considerable advice. Those tune-books which contained lengthy prefaces are quite important sources for a study both of the basic attitudes toward and the philosophy of sacred music in the United States. Unlike the longer prefaces, the short prefaces and advertisements were quite utilitarian, stressing the selling points of the particular volume. A typical advertisement might read like the following one from the thirteenth edition of The Village Harmony (Newburyport, 1816):

> The present edition of the Village Harmony is offered to the publick, in full confidence, that refined and judicious lovers of psalmody will find it essentially improved. Many of the light and frivolous pieces of former editions have been expunged, to make way for such as are more solemn and interesting. . . . It is scarcely necessary to mention, that almost the entire contents of this work have been selected from the best writers, ancient and modern . . . . With respect to the typography . . . no pains have been spared to render it neat and correct . . .
>
> With sentiments of gratitude for the ample patronage hitherto afforded, the proprietors dismiss this advertisement with their sincere hopes, that this work may prove happily instrumental in exciting and gratifying a refined relish of classical psalmody, and in warming and purifying the devotions of such as engage in the worship and praise of the Divine Being.

Other advertisements stressed particular values to be found in the volume.

> NOTWITHSTANDING there are already numerous Musick Books in use, many of which contain the best Musick, yet the expense of large volumes is such, as to render it difficult for some societies in the country to purchase them; To remedy which, the compiler has been induced to publish this small volume, in order that singing schools and societies may be more generally furnished with Books.[10]

The original "Advertisement" from The Easy Instructor, dated 1798, was reprinted in its later editions. This advertisement noted the new system of shape-notes used in the publication. Emanuel Kent said confidently in David's Harp (Baltimore, N. d.):

> The publishers of this work, usher it into notice, under a full conviction that its own intrinsic merit will be a sufficient recommendation among those for whom it is intended.

---

[10] Japheth Washburn, The Parish Harmony (Exeter, 1813).

Thomas Hastings' brief preface for Musica Sacra (Utica, 1818) concluded:

> How far we may have succeeded in our present undertaking, must be left to the decision of a candid public. That the work may prove useful in disseminating a taste for chaste and classical music, and in aiding and livening the devotions of the pious, is the sincere wish of THE COMPILERS.

A more legislative, ecclesiastical approach was taken by James Evans in David's Companion (New York, 1811), intended for the use of the Methodist Church:

> Let us then regard every part of our code; not be zealous for one part and neglect another . . . . Let us read then the section in our discipline upon singing, page 45. It is there to be seen that the Methodists, from the beginning, have had a book of tunes . . .

A more humble approach appears in Solomon Howe's Farmer's Evening Entertainment.

> As Farmers and Mechanics are the support of the community it may be proper, humbly to offer them the product of one of their weakest brethren, whose winter evenings, have been a little devoted to the study of Music; tho', perhaps the following tunes will not suit the taste of the public, as there may be a disagreeable sameness, in the elimination of some; but I hope not so disgustful, as to render the whole work useless.

Occasionally a recommendation of a volume by some well-known musicians or by a musical society was included with the advertisement to further enhance the attractiveness to the buyer.

> To the Compilers and Publishers of the Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music. Boston, October 31, 1816.
>
> Gentlemen,
>
> The trustees of the Handel and Haydn Society, having seen the work entitled "Songs of the Temple, or Bridgewater

> Collection of Sacred Music," could not refrain from expressing the satisfaction they derived from the examination of its pages. For beauty of style, justness of adaptation, and correctness of harmony, it is equalled by few, if any, and excelled by none, of which they have any knowledge.
>
> Much praise is due to the compilers for their great research and superior taste; and to the publishers for its handsome execution. The trustees hope that its circulation may be as extensive as its merits. I am, gentlemen, with much respect, your obedient servant,
>
> M.S. Parker, Secretary.
>
> By order of the Board of Trustees of the Handel and Haydn Society.[11]

Abijah Forbush's The Psalmodist's Assistant (Boston, 1803) listed recommendations by three musicians, Abraham Wood, Nathaniel Flagg and Elias Mann.

The use of the term "advertisement" is not consistent, however, One tune-book printed under "advertisement" a list of abbreviations used in the volume;[12] in another it represented the list of "errata" for the volume;[13] in still another it is merely an indication of which voices are to sing which parts.[14] The most candid comment is from Arthur Clifton's "Address" in An Original Collection (Baltimore, 1819):

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[11] Bartholemew Brown, Fifth edition (Boston, 1817).

[12] Bartholemew Brown, Second edition (Boston, 1804), and Amos Albee, The Norfolk Collection of Sacred Harmony (Dedham, 1805).

[13] Freeman Lewis, The Beauties of Harmony (Pittsburgh, 1816).

[14] Francis C. Schaffer, Hymns (Boston, 1811).

> To please every one, is impossible; I therefore began by —pleasing myself; Hence, amongst the following pages, are subjects, which, although necessarily abridged, and new modell'd, bring to my recollection, the stupendous structures, from which I have stolen my little relics . . .
>
> My only error, perhaps, is in presuming to mix with those great composers, works of my own; but as my simple tunes are added for the sake of variety of style, or as foil to gems, I hope I may be excused in securing a corner in this superstructure.

The Theoretical Introductions vary considerably, both in length and clarity of presentation. The title was often chosen, however, to make the study appear easy to the would-be scholar.

> A plain and concise Introduction to Psalmody.
>
> An Introduction to the Grounds of Practical Music, or easy and familiar Rules for Learners.
>
> The Necessary Rudiments of Music, in a series of Lessons, by way of Questions and Answers.

Joseph Doll noted at the very beginning of his Leichter Unterricht (Harrisburg, 1814), the very name of which encouraged the scholar,

> Wer Die Vocal-Musik leicht und fertig erlernen will, muss sich vor allen Dingen bemühen, die Fundamental-Principien der Tonkunst recht zu verstehen, die in Der Musik enthaltend sind.[15]

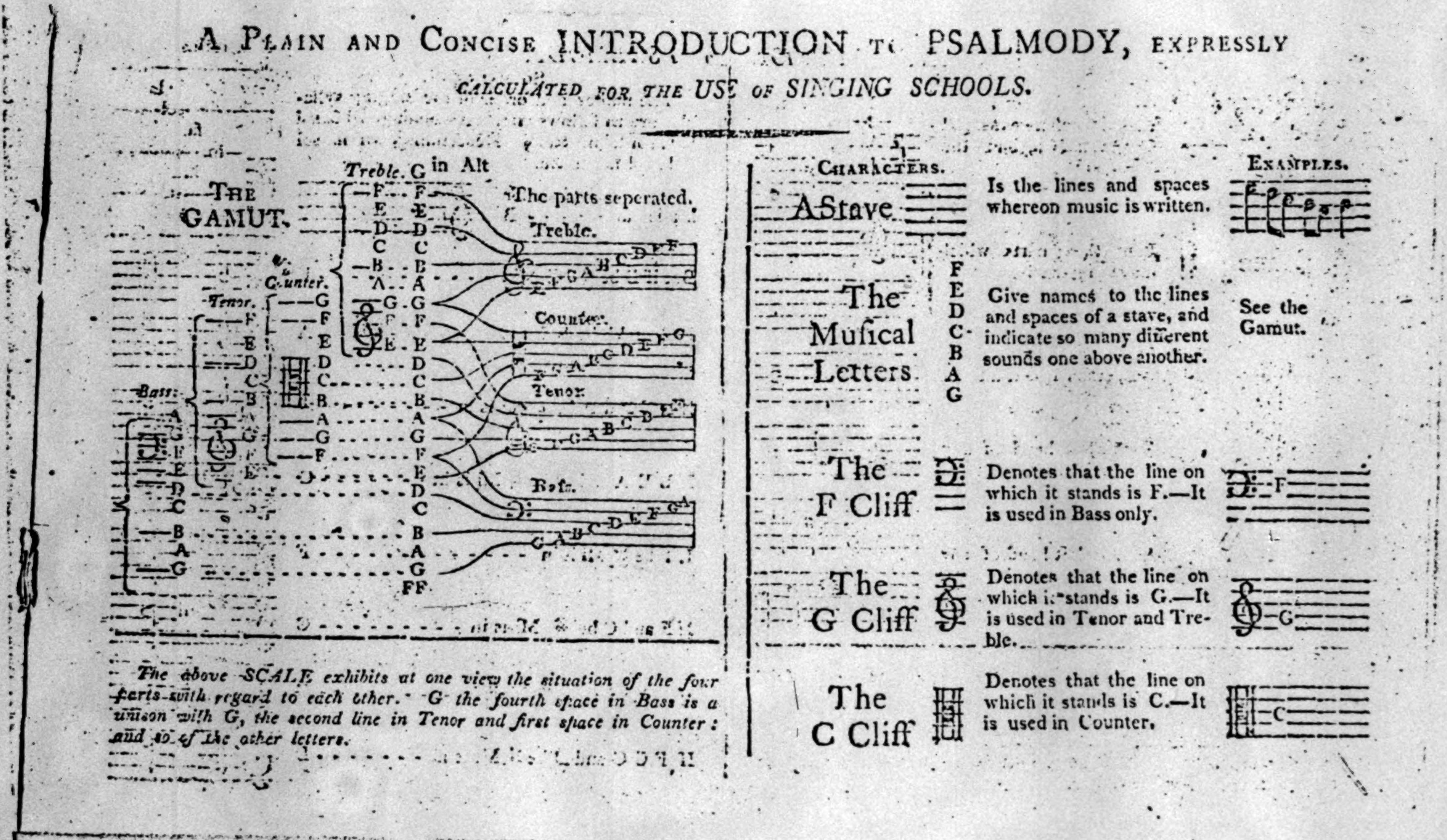
The theoretical introduction consisted of 1) a gamut, which outlined the scale, the clefs, the ranges of the different parts, the basic symbols used (staff, brace, flat, sharp, etc.), the placement of the "mi" (i.e., rules for solfeggio with a movable "do"), the moods of time and the durational value of the notes; 2) general observations, noting the manner of placement of the voice and other performing practices; 3) an index of musical terms; and 4) a series of short exercises or lessons for "tuning the voice," or "warm-up exercises" as they might be called today. The Village Harmony (1808) had seven pages of such lessons; included were exercises for the singing of scales ascending and descending, rising and falling intervals in the scale, and special examples in two, three and four voice parts for specific drill in the different time signatures.

---

[15] "He who would learn vocal music easily and thoroughly must make the effort, above all, to correctly understand the fundamental principles of the tonal-art which are found in music." Translated by J.W.H.

Learning was expected to be by rote, and little if any space was taken in the introductions to explain the musical rationale for a particular practice. Rather a statement of fact was presented and immediately illustrated. Thus music was presented as holding no deep mysteries soluble only by the highly educated, but as an easy and practical "science" which one could teach himself through application. The whole subject of introductions has been studied by Allen P. Britton and is not further considered here. The introductions are virtually the same as those in the pre-1800 editions.

The largest and most central part of the book was the music section, containing a number of psalm and hymn tunes, and frequently several anthems or set pieces. The tunes are not long, usually consisting of four phrases, depending on the particular metre used. Thus it was often possible to print an entire tune with its three or four staff



A PLAIN AND CONCISE INTRODUCTION TO PSALMODY, EXPRESSLY CALCULATED FOR THE USE OF SINGING SCHOOLS.

THE GAMUT.
Treble.
Counter.
Tenor.
Bass.
G in Alt
F
E
D
C
B
A
G
F
E
D
C
B
A
G
FF
The parts seperated.
Treble.
Counter.
Tenor.
Bass.

The above SCALE exhibits at one view the situation of the four parts with regard to each other. G the fourth space in Bass is a unison with G, the second line in Tenor and first space in Counter: and so of the other letters.

CHARACTERS.			EXAMPLES.
A Stave		Is the lines and spaces whereon music is written.	
The Muſical Letters	F E D C B A G	Give names to the lines and spaces of a stave, and indicate so many different sounds one above another.	See the Gamut.
The F Cliff		Denotes that the line on which it stands is F.—It is used in Bass only.	F
The G Cliff		Denotes that the line on which it stands is G.—It is used in Tenor and Treble.	G
The C Cliff		Denotes that the line on which it stands is C.—It is used in Counter.	C

Fig. XIII The Rudiments of Music.

harmonization on a single page-wide staff. In this way two tunes could be printed on a single page. The longer tunes required two staves or an entire page. Very few tunes exceeded a single page in length. Anthems, on the other hand, were often considerably longer, frequently requiring four, five, seven or more pages. A study of the 1801-1810 sample group finds the average book length to be 102 pages, and the content to have 94 tunes and 3 or 4 anthems or set pieces, a total of about 98 musical compositions in each volume. The range is, of course, quite wide, one volume in the sample containing 266 tunes, another only 20.

The index was usually placed last in the tune-book, listing the tunes alphabetically. Sometimes the composer's name was listed in the index, although it appeared equally often at the head of the tune itself. Anthems were listed separately from tunes. Some volumes also provided a separate metrical index in which tunes having the same metrical pattern were listed together.

The entire tune-book was bound in paper or board covers and provided a complete volume suited to all the singing needs of the average church choir or singing school member. The copies were treasured by their owners, most of them youthful, and the names of the owners were proudly inscribed inside the cover, along with the names of a few favorite tunes. The tune-book was thus a unity, all its parts bound together to play roles, religious, aesthetic, musical and pragmatic, for the owner of the volume.

2. Methods of Printing Tune-Books

The problems of printing music, as opposed to standard printing, are considerable. Whereas the printing of a text allows considerable tolerances, music must be exactly lined up, with note-heads properly placed on the staff, chord tones aligned vertically with syllables of the text directly beneath the notes. Two processes were normally employed in meeting these special demands: printing from engraved plates or movable type. Engraving was done on pewter or softened copper using a punch for the heads of the notes, accidentals, clefs, time-signatures, and words of the text. A graver was used for the note stems, ties and slurs. A scorer was used for the staff.[16] Each engraver used a distinctive set of punches for all the musical symbols by which his work could be recognized. It is sometimes possible to identify a work bibliographically from these characteristic symbols.[17] The Bay Psalm Book of 1698, the first known publication containing printed music in the present United States, was made from wood block, while the first music printed from engraved plates was James Franklin's printing of Thomas Walter's The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained (Boston, 1721).

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[16] A Hyatt King, Four Hundred Years of Music Printing (London, 1964), p. 21.

[17] See Donald W. Krummel, "Philadelphia Music Engraving and Publishing: 1800-1820" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1958).

Movable type was rather crude in its early history, but was gradually improved in flexibility and refinement. Engraving was better suited for the printing of complex and florid music, especially orchestral scores with many staves. On the other hand, simpler music not requiring the printing of elaborate graces and multiple staves could be printed rather well from movable type. About 1754 Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf had perfected a fount of type which broke the pieces of type into the separate component pieces of the notehead, stem and flags, all attached to staff segments of varying length.[18] The first music book printed from movable type in the United States was _Fünff schöne Geistliche Lieder_ (Germantown, 1752) printed by Christoph Saur.[19] Still engraving was the ascendent form of printing during the eighteenth century and remained so until the 1870's. King notes that

> the competitive growth of the two processes and their alternate expansion and contraction in different countries make it difficult to isolate one from the other. They can perhaps best be seen as rivals in a kind of leap-frog race . . . with the invention and application of lithography entering as a _tertius gaudens_ . . . in the final stages.[20]

Chemical lithography, invented at the end of the eighteenth century, pared costs to a quarter of engraving, but was not used commercially in the United States until later in the nineteenth century.

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[18] King, _Four Hundred Years_, p. 23.

[19] _Ibid._, p. 24.

[20] _Ibid._, p. 19.

Because of the generally simple musical structure of the psalm tune, type was frequently favored for tune-books. Early tune-books in America were mostly engraved until the general application of typographical music printing by Isaiah Thomas in the *Worcester Collection of Sacred Music* (Boston, 1797). The major drawback of musical type was the very high cost of initial acquisition. This cost more or less dictated that typographical printing of music be concentrated in the shops of a few printers who could operate on high volume. Andrew Law made an issue of this high cost in a petition to the Congress of the United States requesting a renewal of his patent.

> First. Your petitioner states it to be a fact, which he can abundantly verify, that the expenses he has already incurred in procuring the type for printing music on his plan, have amounted to near fifteen hundred dollars, and that it will cost you [sic] petitioner from six to seven hundred dollars more to complete the type, and render it fit for advantageous use.
>
> Secondly. That the prejudices in favor of the old method of printing music, are so deeply rooted in the minds of most of the singers in the United States, that it will require many years yet to eradicate these prejudices, and to introduce your petitioner's plan so generally as to make it profitable to him.
>
> Thirdly. That there are a great many printers in the United States, who are in possession of type for printing music upon the old plan; consequently their interest leads them to reject your petitioner's method; and these printers have many teachers of music under their influence, and these again have their friends and patrons, all united in favour of the old plan; and hence it must require many years before the invention of your petitioner can be introduced so generally, as to indemnify him for his labours and expenses.
>
> Fourthly. These circumstances operating against the introduction of your petitioner's plan, the sales of his book have been slow and inconsiderable. Added to this, the difficulty and expense of printing music, with the present incomplete state of your

> petitioner's type, have been so great, that his profits on the books he has sold, have not been equal to the interest of the money expended for paper, printing, and binding; consequently the inventer [sic] can calculate upon no remuneration for his labours and expenses, until he can complete his type and get a more general and rapid sale of his work.[21]

Apparently not everyone preferred the typographical method of printing, for the Philadelphia publisher Henry C. Lewis noted in the *Literary and Musical Magazine*, January 1, 1819, that:

> he was aware of the prejudice which exists against this mode of printing music [typographical], but, from arrangements made with several amateurs, who have kindly offered their services, the editor can confidently promise, that, in point of correctness it shall equal any other, of whatever description, published in this country.[22]

Whatever the prejudices may have been, most tune-books in the early nineteenth century, including those with the widest circulation, were printed from movable type.

3. *The Size of Tune-books*

The general size and shape of the tune-book is well-known. However, since these dimensions actually vary considerably, a more precise calculation should establish a more accurate description of the tune-book. One writer on the subject noted that 6-1/2" x 9-1/4" (16.5 x 23.5 cm) was the most popular size book. This may be true for the period after 1820 for the commerical publications of Lowell Mason and his group, but for the period 1801-1820 only a very few books would conform to that measurement. A group of 161 tune-books for which measurements were available revealed the following: the oblong shape was truly the "typical" or normative shape of most of the volumes.[23] Of the group, 83% were oblong in shape; 9% were octavo and 5% were miscellaneous odd sizes. However, "long-boy" or "end-opener" are terms which could not be applied to all tune-books.

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[21] "Petition of Andrew Law," State Papers, 14th Congress, First Session, House Document No. 37, as quoted by Irving Lowens in "Andrew Law and the Pirates," *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[22] Quoted by Charles E. Wunderlich in "A History and Bibliography of Early American Musical Periodicals, 1782-1852" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1962), p. 65.

The most common size of oblong-shaped book was 5-5-1/2 x 8-1/2 x 9" (13-14 x 21.5 -23 cm). Within this range fall about 44 % of all the books. Clearly this is the most typical size, although less than half are of these exact dimensions. However over two-thirds (67%) fall within the slightly more comprehensive dimensions of 4-3/4-5-3/4" x 7-1/2-9-1/2" (12-14.5 x 19-24.5 cm). The remainder of oblong books are mostly the smaller gamuts, 3-1/2-4-1/2 x 6-1/2-10-3/4" (9-11.5 x 16.5-27.5 cm), about 11% of the total, and a small number of larger sized volumes [c. 5%] (16.5 x 26 cm., etc.). The largest volume encountered was Benjamin Carr's Chorister (13-1/4" x 9-1/2" - 24 x 33.7 cm), while the smallest was Charles Woodward's Sacred Music In Miniature, measuring only 3" x 4-1/2" (7.5 x 11.5 cm).

Size appears to be unrelated to number of pages. The smallest volumes often had 200 pages while the largest only 30 pages, and vice versa. Some connection does appear between size and the type of tune-book however. For example, all of the tune-books used as hymnals are standard octavo book shape, rather than oblong. Since hymnals did not usually contain a four-part harmonization, the melody could be printed easily on the standard sized page above the hymn text. Similarly, instruction books not bound with common tune-books often were not oblong. The Musical Catechism (Philadelphia, 1811) was a very small volume (c. 3-1/2" x 4"), conforming to the prevailing popular sizes of "pocket" manuals or "companions." On the other hand the Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung (1813) was oblong (6 " x 9"). Since music was the primary content of this volume, the shape was modified accordingly to meet the requirements of music. The "gamuts" were simply a smaller and less expensive publication, amply reflected in the dimensions which are a diminution of the common tune-book. Volumes containing primarily anthems were often larger than the average size; this additional size enabled a more satisfactory printing of the anthems, which often ran for a number of pages in the smaller books. The Old Colony Collection (Boston, 1818), for example, measures 22.5 x 27 cm., considerably larger than the 14 x 23 cm. dimension of the common variety. The volumes of service music and chants are variously sized, but notably different as a group from the common tune-book. George K. Jackson's Choice Collection of Chants (Boston, 1816) measures approximately 4-1/2"x 6", while his Choral Companion (Boston, 1817) is an octavo. All of Benjamin Carr's chant books were exceedingly large.

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[23] Allen P. Britton notes in "Theoretical Introductions," p. 53, that the first tune-book to appear in the characteristic oblong shape was The Psalm Singer's Necessary Companion (Second edition, 1700), by an anonymous Englishman from Lancashire.

In summary, it can be seen that most of the irregular, octavo, over-sized or under-sized volumes were types of tune-books other than the common type, and account for only a small proportion of the entire bibliography. The common tune-book was oblong in shape in the overwhelming number of cases. This is the shape and form which was most popular, and which survived in the tune-books of the following decades. Although the octavo shape and the larger dimensioned shapes were suited for secular music sheets and the publications of European instrumental music and orchestral scores, the oblong "long boy" was the shape which the folk preserved as the tune-book moved from New England to areas more removed from the fine-art influence.

4. The Price of Tune-books

The price charged for tune-books varied considerably, depending on the shape of the book, number of pages, quality of printing, and amount of music contained. As indicated before, nearly all of the tune-books printed in America before 1800 were engraved, while most of the volumes appearing after that date were printed from musical type. Engraving required considerable craftsmanship and was time consuming.

Particularly after 1800 volumes which were printed from engraved plates were expensive, more because engraved editions tended to be more decorative with fancy lettering and ornamentation than because the process itself was expensive. Samuel Dyer gives us an indication of the high cost of an engraved title page in his New Selection (Baltimore, 1817):

> By the recommendation of some judicious friends, the Editor has dispensed with giving an engraved Title Page, agreeably to the original conditions of subscription, and has inserted in lieu of it, nearly twenty additional pages of music, which it is hoped will be more acceptable to the subscribers and purchasers generally.

Benjamin Carr's publications were especially attractive. Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems & Motetts (Philadelphia, 1805) was printed under the approval of Bishop Carrol of the Roman Catholic Church, and carried a price of one Eagle.[24] Another volume, Sacred Harmony (1805), which was advertised as an elaborate edition with accompaniment for organ, harp or piano, was to sell for $5.50 bound-quite expensive by contemporary standards. Carr's Chorister (1820) and Collection of Chants and Tunes (1816) sold for $2, again expensive considering they had only 36 and 62 pages respectively. The cost in that case was approximately four cents per page.

At the other extreme are the inexpensive, typographically printed works selling for as little as one-half cent per page. This is rather intriguing, inasmuch as the purchase of a fount of musical type was a considerable capital expenditure. Probably the best explanation for the low per-page price is that such works generally had wide circulation, and the cost of printing was spread over many copies. These tune-books often ran into many editions, with a new edition only slightly revised from the previous one. Such procedures kept the cost of editing low and made possible the low price. The Village Harmony (Exeter, 1803) of 205 pages, sold for one dollar per copy, and further discounts were given in quantity. It could be purchased by the "hundred, dozen, or single." Charles Robbins' Columbian Harmony (Exeter, 1805) of 207 pages, sold for one dollar a single copy or ten dollars a dozen. Bartholemew Brown listed the Bridgewater Collection (Boston) at one dollar or ten dollars a dozen, and included as many as 315 pages in some editions. Common practice was to sell a dozen copies for about ten times the single copy price, and give additional "liberal discounts" to wholesale purchasers.

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[24] Ten dollars.

Somewhat higher in price, averaging about three-fourths cent per page were Walter Janes' Massachusetts Harmony (Boston, 1803) which was priced at 87-1/2 cents for 128 pages, Elias Mann's Northampton Collection (Northampton, 1802) at 87-1/2 cents for 135 pages, and Benjamin Holt's New England Sacred Harmony (Boston, 1803), 37-1/2 cents for 55 pages. The greater number of tune books, however, averaged close to a penny a page, or about one dollar for a hundred page volume. One dollar was a popular price and, apparently, was within the economic reach of a great number of purchasers of tune-books. Books in the price range of about a penny per page included:

Oliver Holden, Worcester Collection (Boston, 1803), 79 pages, $1.00

Solomon Howe, Farmer's Evening Entertainment (Northampton, 1804), 32 pages, $0.25

Warwick Palfray, Evangelical Psalmodist (Salem, 1802), 55 pages, $0.50

The Easy Instructor (Albany, 1817), 120 pages, $1.00

Andrew Adgate, Philadelphia Harmony (Philadelphia, 1807), 110 pages, $1.00

More expensive overall, but still less than a cent a page, was Samuel Holyoke's large, comprehensive and widely advertised volume The Columbian Repository (Exeter, 1802), which listed for $3 a copy, or $3.50 bound. Stephen Jenks advertised in his Christian Harmony (Dedham, 1811) that the cost of the music was "only one cent a Tune!" His tune-book was priced at a half dollar for 37 pages.

More specialized publications were priced according to the technical work involved. The Massachusetts Compiler[25] with only 71 pages of music, included an extensive musical theoretical introduction of 36 pages, justifying its $1.75 asking price. Similarly a copy of Handel's Messiah (Boston, 1817) with 144 pages was listed at $3.00. The price of tune-books were more reflective of the content, printing, craftsmanship and number of pages than of differences in quality of paper or binding.

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[25] Hans Gram, Samuel Holyoke, Oliver Holden (Boston, 1795).

There can be no doubt that music books were more expensive to print than books without music. The desirability of adding a few more tunes to his collection was tempered when Freeman Lewis said in The Beauties of Harmony (Pittsburg, 1818):

> I have collected a number of valuable pieces of music, which will not be found in the following pages, because the expense of publication does not allow of increasing the size of the book without increasing the price also—they may be hereafter published, if sufficient encouragement is given.

Regular hymnbooks containing no music, while considerably smaller in dimension, usually had two to four hundred pages and sold at a fraction of the cost of a tune-book. John Wyeth sold the Methodist Hymn Book for fifty cents and Rippon's Hymns for sixty-two cents.[26] The same year (1811) Isaiah Thomas was offering The Methodist Hymn Book for only 31-1/4 cents.[27] These hymn collections were printed and purchased in very large numbers.

The gamuts fall into a special price class of their own. Since they were of small dimensions, consisted of only a title page, several pages of rudiments, optionally a few psalm tunes, sheets of lined paper, and sold in sizeable quantities, they could be sold quite cheaply. They were often known as "four penny gamuts," the normal price being from four to six cents. The Connecticut Courant, February 11, 1788 listed The Gamut, or Scale of Music[28] as

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[26] John Wyeth, A Catalogue of Books for Sale (Harrisburg, 1811).

[27] Isaiah Thomas, Catalogue of Books for Sale (Boston, 1811).

> Just Printed, and now selling by Nathaniel Patten. Price 4d single, and 3s per dozen.

The cost of many tune-books was offset, or at least guaranteed, by the device of taking subscriptions before publication. This was a common publishing procedure which protected the smaller publisher from the risks of printing too many books which might not sell. Although this practice was more common before 1800, a number of editions after 1800 had subscription lists in the rear of the book. Among the books with such lists were:

Samuel Holyoke, Columbian Repository (1802)
Walter Janes, Massachusetts Harmony (1803)
Benjamin Carr, Masses, Vespers, Litanies (1805)
John Cole, Devotional Harmony (1814)

Many tune-book compilers mention subscribers in the preface, although they do not print a list of such subscribers. A variant of the subscription procedure was the guarantee of sale of a certain number of copies to a church, singing school or musical society. Samuel Tenney's Hallowell Collection (Hallowell, 1817), for instance, was subscribed by the Handel Society of Maine, whose recommendation appeared in the "Advertisement."

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[28] Nathaniel Patten printed the first of these gamuts in Hartford in 1788. Later Oliver D. Cooke issued gamuts in Hartford, and others were printed by printers in Albany, Troy, Utica, and other towns.

No great difference in price levels is seen from the beginning to the end of the period studied. In general, prices tended to become lower toward the end of the period and into the 1820's, the buyer securing more pages of music for his money. In the period before 1800, when many books were engraved, prices tended to be about the same as later: Supply Belcher's Harmony of Maine (1794) was $0.75 for 103 pages; Jacob Kimball's Essex Harmony (1800) was $0.75 for 111 pages; Amos Pilsbury's United States Sacred Harmony (1799) was $1.25 for 224 pages.

Tune-books, however, when compared to other forms of printed matter, were expensive. The specialized musical printing, whether engraved or set typographically, and more limited patronage, made impossible comparable pricing with grammars and novels which were quickly printed and sold to larger numbers of consumers. Webster's First Part, or American Spelling Book sold for twenty cents, or $1.75 per dozen.[29] In 1811 Scott's Lady of the Lake could be bought for one dollar, Addison's Plays for one dollar, Kempis' Imitation of Christ for only $0.75 and the four volumes of Blackstone's Commentaries for $10.00.[30] Publishers who were able to distribute tune-books to a large number of book dealers in many cities and villages were able, of course, to decrease the per unit cost sufficiently to charge a price which the small printer or tune-book compiler could not match and still make a profit. The result was a sharp decline in the number of tune-books published by itinerant tunesmiths, and an increasing command of the market by the large volume publishers with extensive commercial outlets.

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[29] Boston Association of Booksellers, A Catalogue of all the Books, printed in the United States (Boston, 1804), p. 76.

[30] Isaiah Thomas, Catalogue (Boston, 1811).

Thomas Hastings, one of the most successful tune-book compilers in following years, was forced to split the printing of his Musical Reader (Utica, 1819) and Musica Sacra (Utica, 1819) with his printer William Williams. Of 500 copies of The Musical Reader published, "Williams took half the edition and 'pledges to push it all over the United States according to the best of his abilities'." The remaining half went to Hastings and Merrel, a bookstore.[31] Yet by Hastings' calculation he expected to make a profit of five to six hundred dollars from the venture.[32] Wheeler Gillet, in the Preface to his Maryland Selection (Baltimore, 1809), said:

> Although several Musical Selections have been printed in Baltimore, which were, perhaps, equal to any ever published in America, in point of taste; yet there not being a sufficient number for a constant supply, induced us to print three thousand copies of this work . . .

Three thousand copies, if sold, would have brought a reasonably substantial profit to the small compiler. However, these are small numbers when compared to the famous Handel and Haydn Society Collection. The first edition (1822) sold out in less than one year. By the time it had run to 22 editions in 1838, the society had made a net profit of $10,000.[33] A bitter note written by Thomas Hastings regarding Little and Smith's Easy Instructor was sharply critical of the "money making publishers" who sold "some 50,000 copies" of that popular tune-book.[34] If Hastings' figures are not exaggerated, that would produce a gross sale of $50,000, providing a considerable profit on the original copyright of William Little and William Smith.[35] As tune-books became increasingly mass produced and sold during the 1830's, 1840's and 1850's, the profits increased accordingly. William Bradbury sold over 250,000 copies of The Jubilee (1858) and over two million total copies of all his music books.[36] Such sales and profits, however, do not really enter into the role of the tune-book in early nineteenth century America, nor is the same species of publication really involved. The musical books of the later period, commencing with those of Thomas Hastings and Lowell Mason, have increasingly less to do with the individually edited, carefully printed and locally distributed tune-books of the earlier period.

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[31] James E. Dooley, "Thomas Hastings: American Church Musician" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1963), pp. 31-32.

[32] Ibid.

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[33] James William Thompson, "Music and Musical Activities in New England, 1800-1838" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1962), p. 156.

[34] The Musical Magazine, July 1835, p. 87, as quoted by Frank J. Metcalf in Musical Quarterly, XXIII, No. 1 (January 1937), p. 96.

[35] The 1798 preface noted an initial subscription of "upwards of three thousand" copies.

[36] Gilbert Chase, America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present (New York, 1955), p. 162.

5. The Publication and Distribution of Tune-Books

The publication and distribution of tune-books did not follow a single procedure, since tune-books were issued under different auspices for a variety of purposes. There were four so-called "publishers" of tune-books. The first was the individual printer who both printed and published the tune-book; second, the large publisher who subcontracted the printing, then retailed the books at his store or chain of stores; third, an organization or church which acted as publisher, sub-letting the printing contract; and finally, the musician-compiler who acted as his own publisher, using the tune-books for his own purposes.

The small individual printer both printed and published the tune-book, then retailed the volume at his own print shop or bookstore. In some cases the printer may have had sufficient knowledge of music to do his own editing; in most cases, however, a singing master was employed as an editor or compiler. Some of these printers were highly successful. Such a figure was Henry Ranlet (1763?-1807), a printer and publisher in Exeter, N.H. Ranlet began in partnership with J. Lamson in 1785. He worked independently between 1789 and 1805, initiating in 1795 The Village Harmony, one of the most popular and long-lived tune-book publications of the period. The fifth edition appeared in 1800, and Ranlet managed a sixth and seventh edition[37] before his death in 1807. The musical editor of the series is not known, although several suggestions have been advanced. Metcalf noted[38] that the Essex Institute in Salem has a copy with a pencil notation attributing the book to Jacob Kimball, Jr. Kimball's Essex Harmony was printed by Ranlet in 1800, suggesting some connection between the two. Another source notes an advertisement for the first edition in American Herald of Liberty (Exeter, July 30, 1795) stating "The Above Collection is made by several gentlemen who are teachers of music . . . ." Whoever the musical editor, Ranlet gained a reputation for his musical printing. He marked his editions "from the music press of Henry Ranlet, " and this designation was carried on by his successors, Norris & Sawyer. Some thirteen tune-books were printed by Ranlet between 1800 and 1807. Samuel Holyoke called upon Ranlet to print his Columbian Repository of nearly 500 pages. Ranlet also was the proprietor of a bookstore, wherein he sold his work. Co-operative arrangements with other printers enabled him to circulate his books throughout the area for retail. The Village Harmony was advertised as for sale by Ranlet as well as "Thomas & Andrews, David and John West, and Caleb Bingham, Boston; Thomas C. Cushing, Salem; Edmund M. Blunt, Newburyport; Stephen Patten, Portland; David Howe, Haverhill; William A. Kent, Concord; and Charles Pierce, Portsmouth." By 1807 five additional booksellers had been added in Boston, one each in Cambridge, Newburyport, Keene, Portsmouth, Portland, Hallowell, and Gilmanton. In this way an extensive network for retail outlet of the publications could be found and the printer could extend his influence beyond his immediate territory. The popularity of The Village Harmony enabled later editions (by 1820 it had gone through 17 editions) to advertise as being for sale "by all principal Booksellers in the United States." While Ranlet could hardly be considered a small printer at the end of his career, he did continue to list himself as printer, doing the work at his own establishment. In many cases he acted as publisher. When he did work for others, he specified the work as "for the author." Many smaller and less well-known printers operated in exactly the same manner, although few had as extensive a retail network as Ranlet.

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[37] The seventh edition was printed in partnership with C. Norris.

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[38] Frank J. Metcalf, American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music (New York, 1925), p. 113.

A second type of publisher was the large establishment which frequently subcontracted the actual printing of the tune-book. The most famous of these establishments was Thomas & Andrews of Boston, with at least 16 publications of tune-books to its credit during this period. One of the earliest to print music from movable type, they advertised their books as "printed typographically." Some of the editions of Thomas & Andrews were printed by J. T. Buckingham, whose name appears on 13 of the items in the bibliography. In the case of the Worcester Collection, Thomas engaged the noted Oliver Holden as musical editor, thus combining his printing and marketing skills with recognized musical editing authority. Thomas operated a bookstore in Worcester as well as Boston, and his publications were advertised for sale "by the Booksellers in Town and Country." Thomas' Catalogue of Books for Sale (Boston, 1811) listed a number of music books, including Calcott's Musical Grammar, a popular introduction to musical theory; Holyoke's Columbian Repository, which sold widely throughout the country; the Lock Hospital Collection; and various other secular and instrumental musical publications.

John Wyeth, printer and publisher of more than 13 tune-books in Harrisburg, Pa., recognized the appeal which the New England volumes had in central and western Pennsylvania by carrying a large stock of such tune-books for sale. Among the books which he advertised were the following musical titles:[39]

Billings' Continental Harmony $1.
Belcher's Harmony of Maine 75¢
Brown's Columbian and European Harmony $1.
Beauties of Psalmody, cont. a sel. of sacred music, adopted to Watts' psalms and hymns $3.
Holyoke Columbian Repository $3.
Holden's Collection of Sacred Music $1.

Matthew Carey, in Philadelphia, also found it profitable to offer musical publications, including textbooks, to his patrons.[40]

Adgate's Philadelphia Harmony $1.
Handel's Messiah. An oratorio 3 dollars. Boston
Buzby's Dictionary of Music $2.25. London, 1813.

It would appear from the inventory of these prominent booksellers that tune-books were in demand and were a profitable item to stock.

One of the more extensive networks was maintained by the firm of Websters & Skinners and Daniel Steele of Albany, who, according to the title page, sold their popular *Easy Instructor* in 1817 at two bookstores in Albany, and at the stores of

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[39] A Catalogue of Books, for sale by John Wyeth (Harrisburg, 1811).

[40] Catalogue of an Extensive Collection of Books . . . for sale by M. Carey and Son (Philadelphia, 1818).

> T. &J. Swords, E. Duyckinck, Collins & Co.[41] and D. Smith, *New York*; M. Carey, B. Warner, W. W. Woodward and A. Small, *Philadelphia*; J. Cushing, *Baltimore*; H. Howe, *New Haven*; Wells & Lilly, *Boston*; G. Goodwin & Sons, *Hartford*; P. Potter, *Poughkeepsie*; B. F. Lewis, *Newburgh*; E. Norman, *Hudson*; Parker & Bliss, *Troy*; Tracy and Bliss, *Lansingburgh*; Dodd & Stevens, *Salem*; H. Stevens, *Schenectady*; W. Williams, *Utica*; J. Bogert, *Geneva*; J. D. Bemis, *Canandaigua*; Skinner & Crosby, *Auburn*; S.H. & H.A. Salisbury, *Buffalo.*

There is not always a clear distinction made between printer and publisher, and the terms are probably somewhat interchangeable.

A third publisher was, in some cases, a musical society, organization, or particular church. In such cases a committee was usually organized to edit the tune-book. Frequently, however, the committee either included a musician or appointed one to do the actual editing. The society then published the book under its own auspices, subcontracting the actual printing.

The Middlesex Collection of Church Music (Boston, 1807) is such an edition. This collection, according to the advertisement, was "prepared by the Middlesex Musical Society," and the publication of it committed to the Rev. David Palmer as their agent. The work was given to Manning & Loring of Boston to print. William Manning (1767-1849), in partnership with James Loring, printed more than 26 tune-books in

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[41] Listed for a price of $1. in Collins, Perkins & Co., *A Catalogue of Books and Stationary* (New York, 1817).

Boston, but never acted as publisher. Manning & Loring were booksellers, however, from 1800-1815, when Manning went to Worcester. James Loring apparently continued to operate a bookstore specializing in music, for he advertised in The Christian Watchman and Baptist Register, I (December 4, 1819):[42]

> James Loring offers for sale at his Musick Bookstore, No. 2 Cornhill, THE VILLAGE HARMONY, nineteenth edition, revised and improved - - Bridgewater Collection - - Winchell's Sacred Harmony, containing 120 tunes of approved excellence, at 37-1/2 cents, and $3.50 by the dozen, neatly half-bound.
>
> Handel's Messiah - - Haydn's Creation - - Old Colony Collection - - Lock Hospital - - Harmonia Sacra - - Hubbard's Anthems - - Callcott's Musical Grammar - - Kollman's Essay - - Musical Dictionary - - Massachusetts Compiler, & c &c.

A collection sponsored by a church was Eighty Psalm and Hymn Tunes, for Public Worship (Boston, 1810) also printed by Manning & Loring. The Advertisement said

> The tunes in this book were selected by a Committee of the Church in Brattle Street, with the advice and assistance of gentlemen, whose names, if it were necessary to mention them, would add authority to the work.

The following manuscript note is folded in the cover of the Library of Congress copy:[43]

> At a meeting of the standing committee of the Church in Brattle Square, January 14, 1810, voted that Mr. Bryant P. Tilden, Mr. Bartholemew Brown, and Mr. Ebenezer Withington be a committee with the advice and assistance of the Rev. Mr. Buckminster to have a small selection of sacred music to be used in the publick worship of the society and to cause the same to be published and distributed in the several pews. At a meeting of the church in

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[42] As quoted from James William Thompson, "Music and Musical Activities," pp. 179-180.

[43] Frank J. Metcalf, American Writers, pp. 170-171.

> Brattle Square January 14, 1810 voted that the society approve of the above vote, and that Elias Mann be added to the said committee.
>
> Attest,
> Peter Thacher, Clerk

This publication was intended for the use of a single congregation rather than for widespread sale throughout the country. The committee was concerned only that "the principal melodies in it may soon be familiar to the whole congregation."

The greatest number of publications, however, were those edited and published by various music masters, the fourth "publisher" of tunebooks. These books were printed on contract by a printer, then used by the music master in his singing schools. As he travelled from place to place, the music master hoped to profit not only from the tuition paid by his pupils, but by the sale of his volumes to them. William Bentley, a participant in singing schools during his youth, wrote in his Diary for November 2, 1806:[44]

> Every master of a town school feels privileged to print his own Books and they are worth accordingly. Next to School Books are Singing Books with this circumstance that many new editions of Singing Books have a new name even from the same author.

Some masters worked out sales arrangements with the printer, such as the agreement previously cited between Thomas Hastings and his printer, William Williams.

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[44] Bentley's Diary, III, p. 258, as quoted by Alan C. Buechner, "Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England, 1760-1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1960), p. 156.

In any of the above procedures, a subscription list might be used to guarantee a sufficient advance sale to warrant publication of a tune-book. Such a device was more prevalent in the years before 1800, when the commercial possibilities were not as good. After 1800 the growing population and demand for musical materials provided a highly competitive market for tune-books (as well as educational publications in a number of fields). Still, some books were printed through an assured subscription. The list below gives the number of subscribed copies for several tune-book editions.

Figure XIV. Number of Copies Subscribed

Charles Southgate, _Harmonia Sacra_ (1818)	114
Benj. Carr, _Masses, Vespers, Litanies_ (1805)	122
John Cole, _Devotional Harmony_ (1814)	238
Walter Janes, _Massachusetts Harmony_ (1808)	245
Daniel Belknap, _Evangelical Harmony_ (1800)	306
Samuel Dyer, _New Selection_ (1817)	376
Samuel Holyoke, _Columbian Repository_ (1802)	431
Stephen Jenks, _Delights of Harmony_ (1805)	869
Eli Roberts, _Hartford Collection_ (1812)	1010

C. A MUSICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TUNE-BOOK

1. _A Summary of the Musical Structure of Psalm Tunes_

The musical structure of psalm tunes has been the focal point of most of the criticism of American psalmody over the past one hundred fifty years, and, indeed, during the period under study. While it is not proposed in this dissertation to make an exhaustive study of this musical structure, that task having been done quite adequately for a number of composers by other scholars,[45] a summary of the salient characteristics of the psalm tune is presented in order to distinguish clearly between the conflicting musical styles found in the tune-books under discussion.

The tune, or air as it was called, was the central element in the musical composition. All of the other elements were related to that dominant element. The Bay Psalm Book included in its 1698 edition thirteen such airs in common use at that time.[46] According to contemporary reports, however, many churches used as few as a half dozen tunes. When one realizes that a single worship service required five tunes, and that there were at least two services, usually three, on each Sunday, then a working repertoire of only six tunes represents a low musical state indeed. The situation was vastly improved in the course of the eighteenth century by the establishment of singing schools and church choirs, further described in Chapter IV. By the 1760's tune-books imported from England printed an ever-broadening repertoire of music, to which was added the original compositions of such American composers as James Lyon, William Billings, Timothy Swan, Simeon Jocelin and Daniel Read. By the year 1800 a large and rapidly growing body of tunes was available, in many tune-book collections, for the singing master. The singing master's problem was not whether he would have enough music to use, but which music he would select; this selection in turn would reflect his own musical taste as well as that of his congregation.

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[45] Studies of American composers of psalm and hymn tunes include the following dissertations. All are unpublished. The full title is found in the bibliography. James E. Dooley: Thomas Hastings (1964); Allen Garrett; William Billings(1952); Marvin C. Genuchi: Jacob French (1963); Joyce E. Mangler: Andrew Law (1956); David W. McCormick: Oliver Holden (1963); Relford Patterson: Samuel Holyoke, Oliver Holden, and Hans Gram (1963); Glen Wilcox: Jacob Kimball, Jr. (1957); J. Lawrence Willhide: Samuel Holyoke (1954).

[46] Windsor, St. David's, York, Low Dutch, Litchfield, Oxford, 119th Psalm, Cambridge, Martyr's, Hackney, 100th Psalm, 115th Psalm, 148th Psalm.

A distinction must be made between "plain tunes," and "anthems" and "set pieces"; both were found in the tune-books of this period. Basically, the plain tune was of four musical phrases, with an optional extension or repetition of a phrase. It was suited to the metrical pattern of a psalm or hymn text, and intended to be sung repeatedly, in *strophic* manner. The anthem was considerably longer, in *durchkomponiert* form; it was sung from beginning to end only once. It consisted of several sections with key words treated melismatically and extensively in the prevailing style. While plain tunes were simple rhythmically—the voice parts mostly in familiar style—a complete musical entity in measured phrases, the anthem treated the texts more freely, allowing for greater interplay between voice parts and much more involved melodic and rhythmic patterns. A set piece was similar to an anthem. Despite its differences, the anthem had a considerable effect on the plain tune in America, detracting from the "plainness" of the latter.

The anthem was the traditional English church composition, comparable in usage to the motet in the Roman Catholic liturgy. The *verse anthem* was a variant form which interspersed solo voice parts with full choral sections. Unlike the tunes, used for singing liturgically prescribed texts, anthems were ornamental, optional pieces, suited principally for cathedral worship. Worship in rural English congregations, Anglican and Dissenting, had little in common with the more dignified cathedral worship. A group of composers, including William Tans'ur, William Knapp, Joseph Stephenson, John Arnold, Aaron Williams and Benjamin West, wrote anthems and tune harmonizations in a style more appropriate to the needs of these rural English churches; later tune-books containing the compositions of these authors were imported from England or reprinted in American editions. Daniel Bayley's *The American Harmony* (Newburyport, 1769) was essentially a reprint of Williams' *Universal Psalmodist* (London, 1763) and Tans'ur's *Royal Melody Compleat* (London, 1755). These books contained compositions which were generally more lively and melismatic than the more sober works of the prominent urban composers, such as Handel, Croft, Boyce and Green, and are probably to be credited with introducing the "light and frivolous" style to the United States during the 1760's and 1770's.[47] American tune composers were quickly caught up with the musical style introduced from the

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[47] Ralph T. Daniel, "The Anthem in New England before 1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1955), *passim*.

English countryside, and began to compose tunes and anthems in that style. Church choirs rapidly learned the new compositions of Billings, Belcher and Benham, along with the older traditional English tunes sung by their fathers.

By all odds the most "frivilous" of the styles imported was the *fuging-tune* or, more properly, *fuging psalm tune*. A fuging tune begins with a homophonic section leading to a cadence; each voice then enters successively in a short imitative or "fugal" passage. Normally the fugal passage is repeated again, making the complete form an ABB.[48] This form of composition appeared throughout New England during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, and was enthusiastically received by native singing masters. Following a short period of vogue, it became, by the turn of the century, the *bête noire* of the reform group.

Many psalm tunes had polyphonic sections where some imitation was introduced, generally in a free manner. Not all of these imitative sections could be properly called fuges, although Lowens points out that of 286 American collections published before 1810, only 31 had no fuging tunes. Moreover, "in the majority, approximately one-quarter of the contents can be classified as examples of the idiom."[49] The youthful singers undoubtedly poured their energies enthusiastically into singing the lively imitative parts, contesting for supremacy, as each voice part had its respective moment of importance in the fuge.

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[48] Irving Lowens, "Origins of the American Fuging-Tune," *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York, 1964), p. 241.

[49] Lowens, "Origins," p. 248, fn.

The air was most frequently harmonized by the addition of three other parts—treble, counter and bass. The air was traditionally given to the tenor, although the practice became a point of dispute among the reformers.[50] Common practice called for a rather pronounced emphasis on the bass part, with tenor and soprano voices doubled on the cantus or air. The range of the tenor and bass parts frequently exceeded an octave. These two parts formed the melodic backbone of the piece and are more interesting than the treble and counter which are more restricted in movement. Disjunct melodic movement is characteristic of all the parts, however, the parts skipping about from chord tone to chord tone in a clear and vigorous harmonic progression. Some of the tunes appear in only three voice parts and, occasionally, in two parts.[51] Andrew Law pointed out, however, in his second "Essay on Music" (Philadelphia, 1814) that

> a tune or piece of music in three parts, without a figured bass is incomplete and unfinished? That in old countries where they print music in three parts only, they have a figured bass, and have instruments which are played by masters who understand the figured bass, and fill the harmony, and by that means add the fourth part?[52]

Most music taken from English collections did require the addition of a fourth voice part. Law, who objected to the practice of simply doubling one of the parts at the octave to gain a fourth voice part, went on to say:

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[50] See Chapter IV.

[51] Samuel Dyer includes an Appendix of "popular old melodies" in two-part harmony in his New Selection (1817).

[52] Page 13.

> the fourth part must be added by a skillful hand; that the original design of the author may be preserved. That the fourth part is not thrown in at random by those who are unskillful in the art of composition; or as the manner of some is, by singing one line of one part, and another line of another part.[53]

The majority of tunes are in sharp (i.e. major) keys, although a substantial proportion of flat (minor) keys are represented. A singing pupil could sing in the various keys if he located the "MI" or leading tone. The rudiments at the beginning of the book usually contained a chart for locating the "MI."

Its natural place is in	B
But if B be _flat_ mi is in	E
If B and E be _flat_ mi is in	A, etc.[54]

These charts were memorized by the singing pupils. The keys most used were those with few sharps or flats; the choice of these keys was as practical in American music as in the works of Mozart and Haydn. An examination of _The Easy Instructor_ (1815) and _The Village Harmony_ (1808) illustrates the popular modes and keys used. The ratio of major to minor keys is about 3:2.[55]

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[53] _Ibid._

[54] Solomon Howe, _The Farmer's Evening Entertainment_ (Northhampton, 1804).

[55] George Pullen Jackson, in his study of the 80 most popular tunes in Southern and Western tune-books between c. 1820 and 1860, discovered a ratio of about 5:3 in favor of major keys. _White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands_ (Hatboro, Pa., 1964; 1933), p. 161. This indicates roughly a decline in the number of minor keyed tunes from the period 1800-1820 to the period 1820-1860. Jackson notes that "propagandists" of the post-Civil war period generally disliked the old tunes in the "doleful minor modes."

Fig. XV. Major and Minor Keys in Psalm Tunes

		The Easy Instructor	The Village Harmony
Sharp keys (major)		62 tunes 58%	107 tunes 63%
Flat keys (minor)		45 tunes 42%	63 tunes 37%
Most frequently used keys.			
Major:	C	12	28
	G	15	25
	A	13	14
	F		14
	D		10
Minor:	a	13	25
	e	15	12
	d	6	11
	f#	4	5

The name and mode of the key was printed above the tune in The Easy Instructor, but is occasionally incorrect. Moreover the description "flat key of f" could mean f minor (4 flats) or f# minor (3 sharps); the key was not so distinguished. An examination of the forty most widely printed tunes shows a strong preference for the major mode. Twenty-six tunes are in major keys against fourteen in minor keys. This is a ratio of nearly 2:1, a higher ratio in favor of major than for the general body of tunes. This corresponds with Jackson's observations that most of the old, standard dignified tunes are found in major keys.[56]

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[56] Jackson, White Spirituals, p. 130.

The relation between the text and the musical setting, as in any strophic composition, was virtually non-existent save for the metrical pattern which had to be mutually compatible. Texts and tunes with the same metrical line were completely interchangeable. Samuel Gilman tells the story of the self-made choirmaster, Mr. "Ebed Harrington," who experienced a number of embarrassing moments when he repeatedly selected Short Metre tunes for Long Metre texts, thus ending each musical phrase with syllables still to be fit to music.[57] Every choirmaster needed to know such basic English metres to which tunes were provided as Long Metre (L. M.), Short Metre (S. M.), Common Metre (C. M.), Particular Metre (P. M.) and Hallelujah Metre (H. M.). Common Metre was the dominant English poetic metre. It is a four line metric pattern of 8. 6. 8. 6, with each line an iambic dimeter; the lines "8" are complete, the lines "6" katalectic, with one arsis and thesis missing at the end.[58] Below is a common metre text from The Easy Instructor set, in this case, to the C.M. tune "Thirty-Fourth."

Through all the changing scenes of life,
In trouble and in joy;
The praises of my God shall still,
My heart and tongue employ.

The tune-book contained only a single verse of a hymn, or psalm, although additional verses were always sung from the hymnal or psalter.

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[57] Samuel Gilman, Memoirs of a New England Village Choir (Boston, 1829).

[58] Willi Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge, 1944; 1958), "Poetic Meter," p. 589.

The harmonic structure of the tunes was straightforward and simple, keeping closely to the tonic, subdominant and dominant roots. Inversions and secondary triads were employed for variation, but in an undisciplined manner. Frequent weak or unstable progressions occurred, with doublings or omissions of the third in the triad. There was also a good deal of parallel perfect intervals, although this was mixed with enough vigorous contrary motion to produce a rough but effective and virile harmony. Modulation, when it occurred, was usually to the dominant key.

Rythmically the more traditional tunes began with a long "gathering" note (a minim, or half-note), then moved in even crotchets (quarter-notes) to the end of the phrase. The old tunes did not usually have quavers (eighth notes), although other voice parts frequently did. The older tunes were usually composed in 4/4 (C) or 2/2 meter. The psalm tunes of the native period use, by contrast, shorter note values, particularly dotted rhythms, and are set more frequently in triple meters (3/2, 3/4). Triple meter always suggests a less solemn, more secular dance-like movement. It appears most often in the secular native and folk tunes appropriated for sacred use.[59]

The foregoing is a brief description which applies generally to the music found in tune-books of the early nineteenth century. However, wide discrepancies appear in the works of individual composers, for the reform movement active at the turn of the century brought about sharp differences in the techniques of musical composition between the older native composers on the one hand, and the younger, more classically trained composer on the other. The reader is referred to the previously mentioned studies pertaining to the music of specific composers for a more detailed musical analysis.

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[59] See Jackson, White Spirituals, Chapter XV, "Dance Tunes: Other Secular Features," pp. 164-185.

2. Variant Musical Notations in Tune-books

Some tune-books, particularly those printed in the western and German-speaking regions of the country, used a form of musical notation quite different from the classical fine art notation. As musical notation developed historically, both pitch and durational values came to be represented in a single symbol placed on a staff. To facilitate the singing of these pitches, however, various pedagogical systems were used, employing a basic set of syllables related to the key note of the scale. One of the systems devised was a four syllable sequence "Fa-Sol-La-Mi" which, when applied to two successive hexachords, formed the diatonic scale. Extending this idea, the letters F-S-L-M could be placed on a staff in place of the notes. The logic of such a system is usually easier for a non-musician to appreciate than one who has already learned to read musical symbols. At any rate, such systems were in use in England as early as the sixteenth century, and appeared in conjunction with the musical notes in the ninth edition of the Bay Psalm Book of 1698. John Tufts used the letter-notation exclusively in his Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes (1721).[60]

The primary difficulty with using letters on a staff was that they were quite clumsy, particularly when a musical composition included involved voice parts and rapid note values. Moreover, a person trained to read music found the letter system cumbersome and objectionable. The solution was provided by William Smith and William Little, the first proprietors of The Easy Instructor. Musical notes were printed on the staff in the customary manner, but the shape of the note head was varied for each of the four letter syllables. Fa was a triangle, Mi a diamond, Law an oblong square, Sol a normal note. Thus was born the system which came to be known as "shape-note" notation. The system, judging by the wide use of The Easy Instructor and many other volumes which used the same system, was a great success. Figure XVI shows the tune "Old Hundred" as printed in shape-notes in The Easy Instructor.

About two years after Little and Smith published their first volume, Andrew Law published the fourth edition of The Art of Singing (Cambridge, 1803). This edition was advertised as "printed upon a new plan." This plan used the same four-shape system, although fa and law were reversed

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[60] See Irving Lowens, "John Tufts' Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes (1721-1744); The First American Music Textbook," in Music and Musicians in Early America (New York, 1964), pp. 39-57.

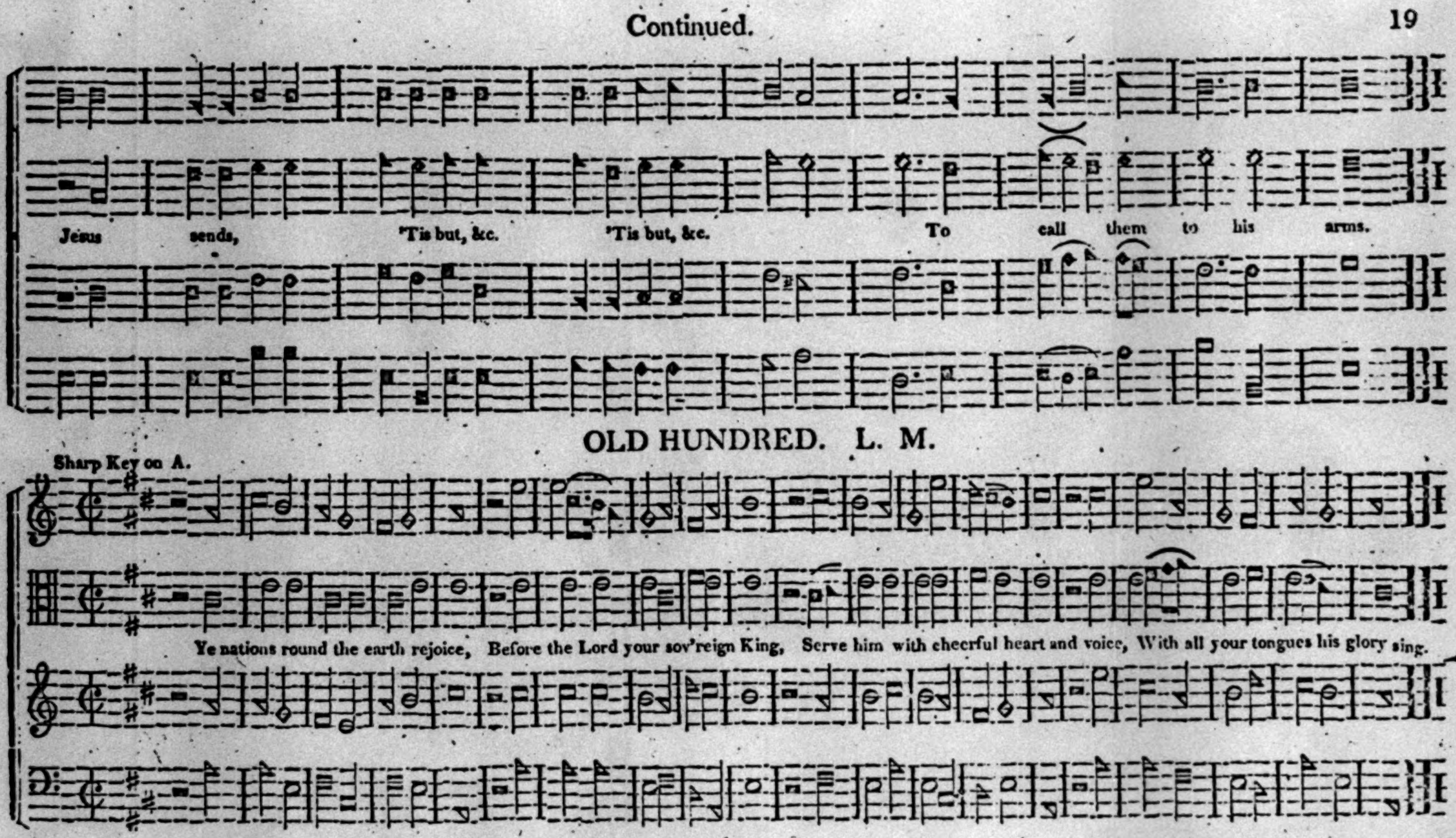
Continued.
19
Jesus sends, 'Tis but, &c. 'Tis but, &c. To call them to his arms.
OLD HUNDRED. L. M.
Sharp Key on A.
Ye nations round the earth rejoice, Before the Lord your sov'reign King, Serve him with cheerful heart and voice, With all your tongues his glory sing.

Fig. XVI The tune "Old Hundred" in Shape-notes.

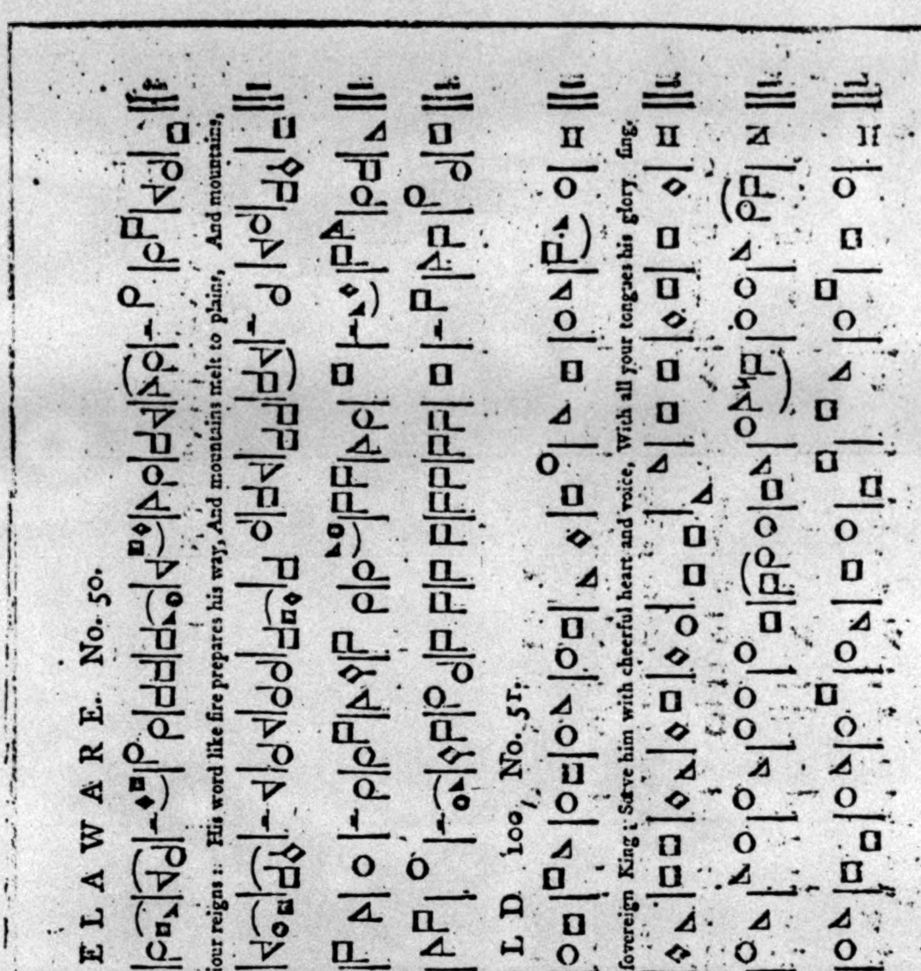
60
DELAWARE. No. 50.
Cheerful.
Let earth with every isle and sea Rejoice, the Saviour reigns: His word like fire prepares his way, And mountains melt to plains, And mountains,
OLD 100. No. 51.
Cheerful.
Ye nations round the earth, rejoice Before the Lord your sovereign King; Serve him with cheerful heart and voice, With all your tongues his glory sing.

Fig. XVII The tune "Old Hundred" : Shape-notes without staff.

from the Little and Smith system; however, unlike Little and Smith, Law did not employ a staff.[61] Figure XVII shows the tune "Old Hundred" as it appeared in Law's shape notation. Law's later publications moved to a seven-shape system and ultimately to a restoration of the staff. In his Select Harmony (Philadelphia, 1811) he said in the "advertisement":

> The design of this publication is not to supersede the plan of seven characters without lines. The experiments, which have been made of that plan, are abundantly sufficient to prove, that it far exceeds all others. But the prejudices in favour of lines, being great, this method is adopted, to gratify those that will not look at the plan, without lines.
> . . . The music may be learned, by the characters and lines connectively; or by the characters only. And, should the Learner make himself acquainted with the scale of degrees, as explained in the system of Rules, he would find the latter method, that of learning by the characters only, the easiest, most expeditious way of learning to sing.

One further variant notation is interesting enough to take note of. William Bull, in a tiny volume issued in 1819, Music, Adapted to Language, used a seven letter system. The musical notes were changed to initial syllable letters—D R M F S L I. Bull noted that "music, like language, may be written in a line." For the upper register he used small case letters. In addition he gave a lengthy explanation of the natural versification patterns and the proper musical placement of those patterns. Like the innovators mentioned above, Bull was able to legitimately, if naively, consider himself an inventor. Law, Little & Smith, and Bull all rediscovered systems similar to those which had been known to the Renaissance tablature printers. The real importance of the variant systems invented by these men, therefore, is not in the systems per se, but in the significant part they played in defining the tune-book's role in certain areas.

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[61] There has been considerable controversy as to whether Law or Little & Smith invented the set of shapes used by both. Irving Lowens traces the case in favor of Little & Smith in "Andrew Law and the Pirates," Music and Musicians, pp. 58-88.

Figure XVIII. First Line of "Old Hundred," from William Bull's Music Adapted to Language (1819), p. 33

La Major Unity of God
*** d m r d i L i d

*** D D I L S D R M

1. E ter- nal God! Al migh- ty cause-

*** D D S L M L S D

---

3. Classification of Tunes

Tune-book compilers gathered tunes from the sources at hand, whether tunes sung in a local church, tunes borrowed from English or other American collections in the possession of the compiler, or tunes taken directly from the rich and active popular oral singing current at the time. In addition many tunes were composed by the compilers themselves.

The tunes were frequently named after the village or town where they were composed or used. This practice dated from the early seventeenth century in England. The problem of names was complicated by the confusing practice of borrowing tunes from earlier collections and renaming them. Tunes were also named for Saints, for the composer, or for some biblical allusion. Moreover, dissenters, often more amateurish than the reigning Anglican musicians, tended to title their tunes more obscurely.[62]

The tunes in the books can be categorized into the following classifications:

E-1. Old Tunes and Urban English Tunes. These tunes are the oldest traditional tunes, mostly English or European in origin. They are characterized by a heavy dominance of common metre tunes, and a solemn, broad melody with a steady rhythm. Representing the best English urban tastes, this category includes tunes by such composers as Handel, Purcell, William Croft, Maurice Green, William Boyce, Burney and Madan, as well as Giardini and Sacchini.

E-2. English Rural Church Tunes. These tunes are those composed or edited for the rural English churches. They are more lively than the older tunes, employing dotted rhythms and imitations such as are found in the fuging-tunes. Several important collections of these tunes were appropriated directly for use in America. Composers or compilers include William Tans'ur, William Knapp, Aaron Williams, Joseph Stephenson and Caleb Ashworth.

A-1. Native American Tunes. Most of these tunes were composed under the influence of the English rural style. Thus they exhibit a lively rhythmic style such as found in fuging-tunes. This classification includes tunes by such composers as Daniel Read, Lewis Edson, William Billings, Timothy Swan, and Simeon Jocelin, but also of Oliver Holden and Samuel Holyoke. Tune names usually refer to villages throughout New England.

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[62] Robert G. McCutchan, Hymn Tune Names (Nashville, 1957), pp. 13-32.

A-2. American Folk Hymns. This classification refers specifically to those "spiritual folk songs" which developed, particularly in the non-urban areas of the United States. The tunes are frequently modal, in 6/8 metre, and were often given subjective titles rather than place names. These tunes are difficult to trace, particularly since the names were frequently changed. They came from many sources, sacred and secular, written and oral, contemporary and ancient. Among the most frequently listed "composers" were Elkanah K. Dare and Lucius Chapin.

Each tune-book consisted of a varied mixture of tunes from the above classifications, in addition to which the compiler-composer often added a number of "new" tunes composed by himself or an associate, most of which were never again reprinted. The identification of tunes in the various classifications is made rather difficult by frequent failure to mention the correct composer's name. This might have been a lack of knowledge of the composer's name, or the deliberate plagiarizing of a tune. Since many tunes were "borrowed" from earlier publications, errors were transmitted from one volume to another. Thus old English tunes were sometimes attributed to an eighteenth century American composer in whose tune-book they were discovered by a later compiler. Because of this problem, the degree of accuracy in this classification is somewhat less than desired. Even melodic comparisons with Robert G. McCutchan's useful list of tunes and names often revealed versions not appearing in his book.[63] Therefore in order to minimize the unknowns and yet make possible a valid study of musical taste, a list of the most popular tunes has been developed, eliminating the more obscure and often short-lived tunes.

A comparative study of the tunes in the fifty tune-books of the sample indicated the following list of tunes as the most frequently printed and therefore presumably most popular.[64] The name of the tune is given, together with its composer if known, and a number categorizing the tune in one of the four classifications. The total number of times the tune appeared in the sample is shown together with a breakdown by ten-year period. The number for the tune-books conform to the numbered sample listed on pages 76 and 77. While inaccuracies undoubtedly remain, these popular tunes were usually listed correctly by the compiler, for they were well known and could not be easily plagiarized. The list is, on the whole, a valuable tool for comparing and evaluating tune-books. The tunes are listed alphabetically.

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[63] Hymn Tune Names, op. cit.

[64] The basic list for comparison was developed from a partial sample of 18 tune-books, then checked against the entire sample.

TUNE NAME	COMPOSER		
ALL SAINTS	Tans'ur	E2	9(1- 8)
AMERICA	Benham	A1	12(6- 6)
AMHERST	Billings	A1	9(3- 6)
AMSTERDAM	German	E1	12(2-10)
ANGELS HYMN	Harmonia Sacra	E1	13(8- 5)
ANTIGUA	Wells	A1	7(0- 7)
ARCHDALE	Holden	A1	8(3- 5)
ARLINGTON	Arne	E1	18(6-12)
ARMLEY	Williams	E2	15(3-12)
ARUNDEL	Williams	E2	12(4- 8)
ASHLEY	Williams	E2	12(4- 8)
AYLESBURY	Chetham	E2	29(11-18)
BANGOR	Tans'ur	E2	28(10-18)
BARBY	Tans'ur	E2	10(2- 8)
BATH	Williams	E2	21(7-14)
BEDFORD	Wheal	E2	23(9-14)
BETHESDA	Green	E1	19(7-12)
BLENDON	Giardini	E1	13(2-11)
BRADFORD	Kimball	A1	5(1- 4)
BRAINTREE	Harmonia Sacra	E1	6(2- 4)
BRAY	Williams	E2	13(3-10)
BRIDGEWATER	Edson	A1	16(8- 8)
BRISTOL	Swan	A1	17(4-13)
BROOKFIELD	Billings	A1	15(5-10)
BROOMSGROVE	Knapp	E1	11(3- 8)
BUCKINGHAM	Williams	E2	15(6- 9)
BURFORD	Purcell	E1	5(2- 3)
CAMBRIDGE	Randal	E1	18(5-13)
CARTHAGE	Williams	E2	10(3- 7)
CASTLE STREET	Madan	E1	21(7-14)
CHELSEA	Burney	E1	6(2- 4)
CHESHUNT	Williams	E2	8(2- 6)
CHESTER	Billings	A1	11(6- 5)
CHINA	Swan	A1	16(3-13)
CHRISTMAS	Handel	E1	19(8-11)
COLCHESTER	Williams	E2	19(4-15)
COMMUNION		A2	5(0- 5)
COMPLAINT	Coan	A2	9(3- 6)
CONCORD	Holden	A1	11(4- 7)
CONFIDENCE	Holden	A1	5(5- 0)
CONSOLATION	Dean	A2	8(5- 3)
CORONATION	Holden	A1	10(6- 4)
CUMBERLAND	Griswold	A1	10(5- 5)
DALSTON	Williams	E2	15(4-11)
DELIGHT	Coan	A1	11(6- 5)
DENMARK	Madan	E1	18(6-12)
DEVIZES	Cuzens	E2	12(1-11)
DEVOTION	Read	A1	5(3- 2)
DISMISSION	Dare	A2	6(1- 5)

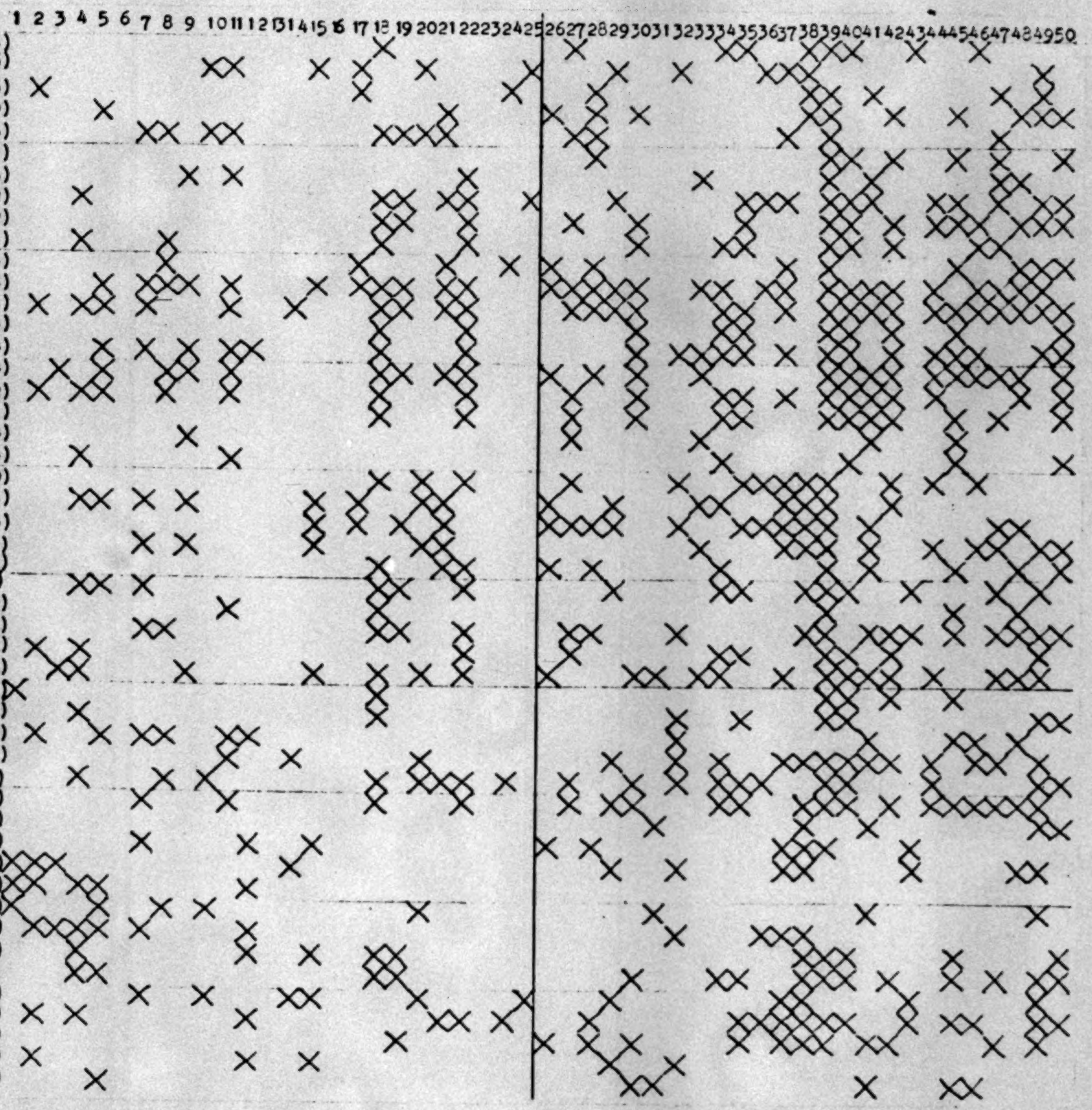
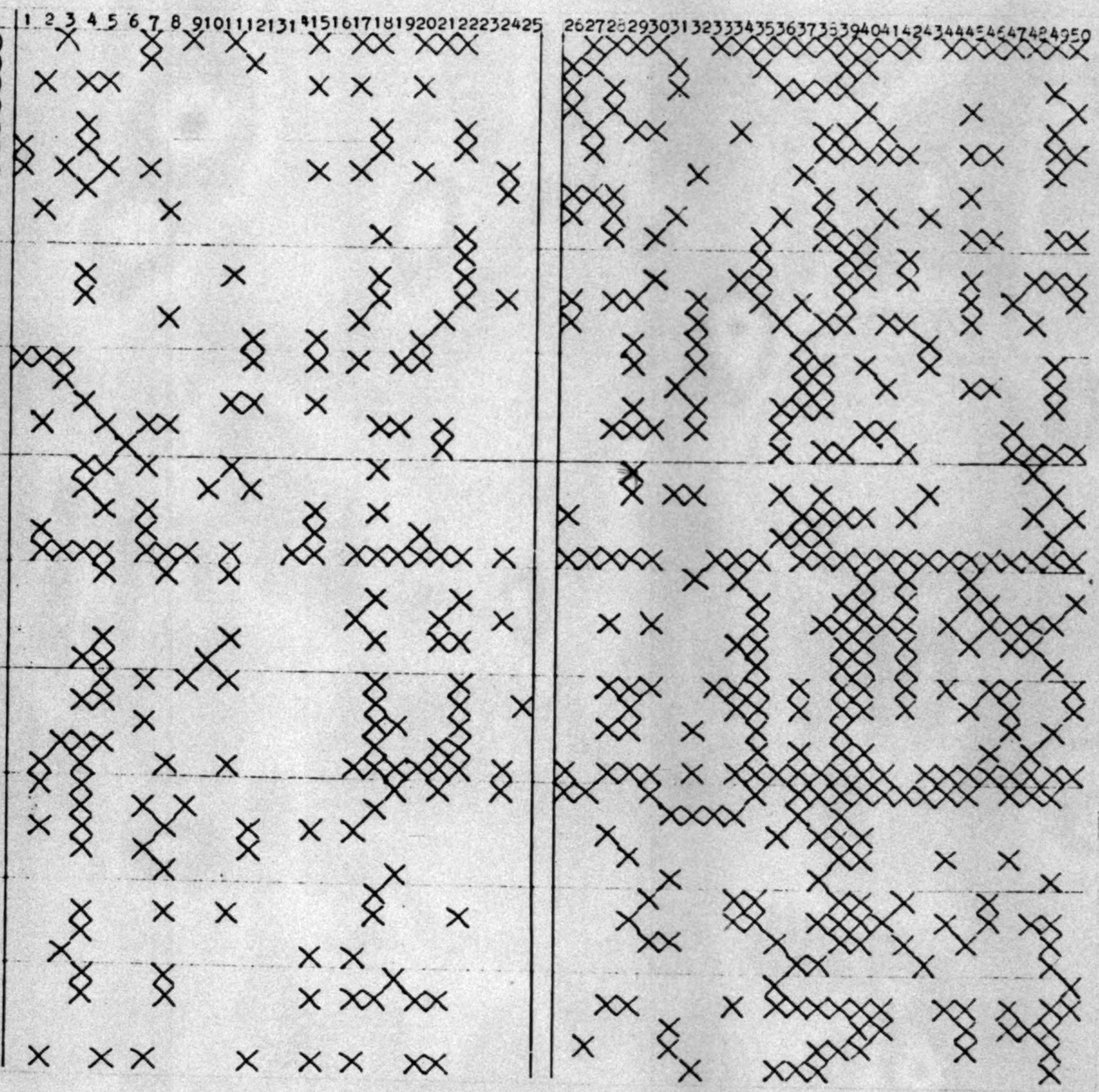


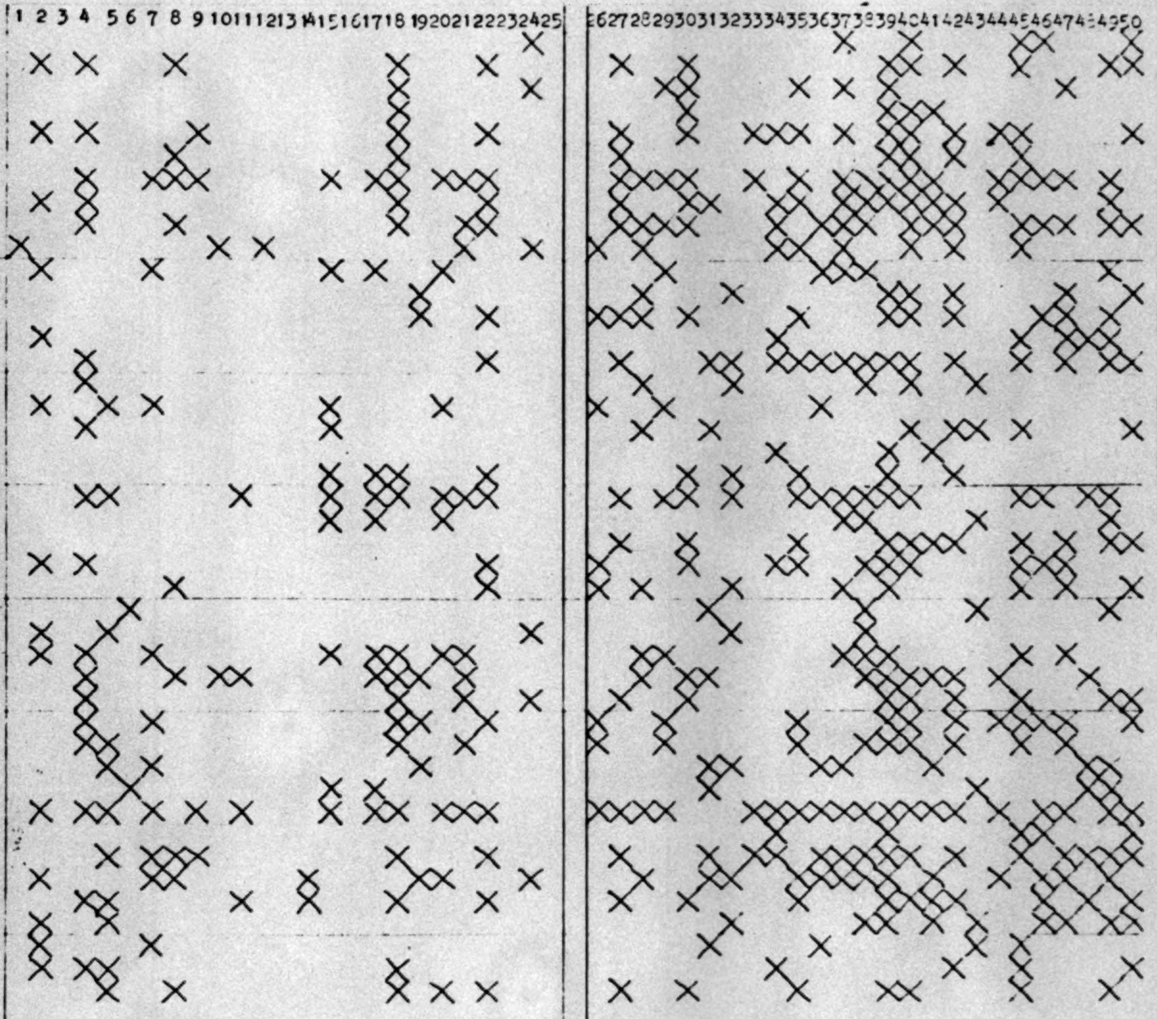
Fig. XIX List of Most Popular Tunes

				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
DORSET	Harmonia Sac	E1	6(2- 4)				X						X								X												X									X	X		X								
DOVER	Williams	E2	17(5-12)		X		X							X							X		X						X				X		X		X	X	X		X	X	X		X				X			X	
DRESDEN	HarmoniaSacra	E1	10(3- 7)				X							X							X										X							X				X	X		X		X				X		
DUNSTAN	Madan	E1	15(6- 9)		X		X							X							X			X	X												X				X	X	X		X			X		X	X	X	
DURHAM	Williams	E1	10(4- 6)		X		X				X			X																	X								X				X					X		X			X
EAGLE STREET	Williams	E2	5(2- 3)								X										X														X							X								X			
ELGIN	Scotch	E1	5(1- 4)																						X												X	X										X					X
ELIM	Grigg	E1	5(2- 3)					X																X																		X	X					X					
ENFIELD	Chandler	A1	16(7- 9)		X		X	X						X	X			X					X						X						X				X	X	X	X							X	X		X	
EVENING HYMN	Williams	E2	17(5-12)	X			X						X								X				X							X					X	X		X		X	X				X	X	X		X	X	X
EXETER	Smith	E1	7(2- 5)	X				X																													X				X	X			X			X					
FAIRFIELD	Stephenson	E2	5(1- 4)					X																											X								X			X						X	
FEVERSHAM	Madan	E1	7(1- 6)																					X					X													X	X		X			X					X
FOUNTAIN	Leach	E1	11(5- 6)					X			X											X	X		X				X		X				X		X					X								X			
FUNERAL HYMN	Miller	E1	7(3- 4)		X		X																				X														X			X			X		X			
FUNERAL THOUGHT	Williams	E2	13(5- 8)		X		X				X						X				X																X				X	X	X						X	X		X	X
GENEVA	Milgrove	E1	7(4- 3)								X			X							X		X								X		X									X											
GEORGIA	Unknown	A1	16(6-10)						X			X		X						X		X		X								X		X	X	X						X		X		X				X	X	X	
GERMAN HYMN	Pleyel	E1	20(4-16)				X														X	X			X					X	X	X	X	X			X	X		X		X			X		X	X	X		X	X	X
GERMANY	Harm.Americ.	A1	9(5- 4)										X	X							X			X	X																	X						X			X	X	
GREENFIELD	Edson	A1	8(5- 3)							X								X		X			X	X																X	X											X	
GREEN'S 100TH	Green	E1	10(2- 8)																		X				X								X					X				X	X		X			X		X			X
GREENWICH	Read	A1	10(5- 5)		X					X	X							X					X							X									X	X	X					X							
GUILFORD	Coan	A1	8(2- 6)											X							X												X									X	X		X			X					X
HABBUKUK	Madan	E1	7(4- 3)			X	X			X								X																								X						X			X		
HAMPTON	Lockhart	E1	8(2- 6)				X							X																							X			X	X	X			X				X				
HANOVER	Croft	E1	9(4- 5)				X							X										X				X	X		X												X					X			X		
HARTFORD	Heighington	E1	10(3- 7)									X			X					X																X					X	X	X		X			X					X
HELMSLEY	Oliver	E1	11(2- 9)				X																X					X		X		X								X	X		X	X			X		X			
HOTHAM	Madan	E1	18(3-15)																X				X	X				X		X		X					X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X
INVITATION	Kimball	A1	9(4- 5)	X						X			X					X									X							X						X	X				X	X							
IRISH	Williams	E2	18(7-11)				X			X				X				X			X			X	X				X		X										X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	
ISLE OF WIGHT	Tans'ur	E2	10(2- 8)											X							X											X	X	X							X	X		X			X			X			
ISLINGTON	HarmoniaSacra	E1	18(5-13)				X				X										X			X	X					X	X	X	X	X				X				X	X	X	X		X			X	X		
ITALY	Sacchini	E1	12(4- 8)				X																	X	X					X							X	X				X	X	X	X						X		
JORDAN	Billings	A1	22(10-12)		X		X	X		X					X			X		X			X	X	X				X		X								X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X	X	X	
JUDGMENT	Read	A1	8(4- 4)		X		X			X																X		X		X				X						X												
KEDRON	Dare	A2	7(2- 5)																X				X										X										X		X					X	X	
KENT	Green	E1	8(2- 6)								X										X								X	X										X	X					X		X			
KNIGHTSBRIDGE	Williams	E2	6(0- 6)																																	X				X	X						X			X	X	
LANDAFF	German	E1	12(3- 9)				X	X													X													X			X			X	X		X		X	X			X				X
LEBANON	Billings	A1	12(5- 7)		X		X	X			X							X											X						X					X	X								X	X	X		
LEEDS	Madan	E1	14(3-11)											X							X				X				X	X			X				X	X				X	X		X		X				X		X
LENOX	Edson	A1	12(6- 6)		X			X		X					X			X						X					X		X	X								X	X									X			
LISBON	Swan	A1	16(8- 8)		X					X					X		X	X		X		X	X						X		X	X			X				X		X	X								X			
LITCHFIELD	Madan	E1	11(4- 7)				X							X							X				X														X			X		X			X				X	X	X
LITTLE MARLBOROUGH	Williams	E2	26(10-16)		X		X	X		X		X					X	X			X			X	X					X		X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X		X	X
MAJESTY	Billings	A1	9(3- 6)		X					X													X									X							X	X	X				X							X	
MARTIN'S LANE	Rippon	E1	13(3-10)															X						X			X		X						X			X		X		X		X				X	X	X			X

MEAR	Unknown	E1	31(10-21)
MESSIAH	Handel	E1	8(2- 6)
MIDDLETOWN	Bull	A1	14(6- 8)
MISSIONARY		A1	5(0- 5)
MORETON	Knapp	E2	11(3- 8)
MORNING HYMN	Tans'ur	E2	14(4-10)
MORTALITY	Read	A1	11(8- 3)
MOUNT EPHRAIM	Milgrove	E1	8(2- 6)
MOUNT PLEASANT	Leach	E1	9(2- 7)
MUNICH	German	E1	12(2-10)
MUSICK	Arne	E1	5(1- 4)
NANTWICH	Madan	E1	14(4-10)
NEWARK	Arne	E1	14(4-10)
NEW COURT	Bond	A1	12(3- 9)
NEW DURHAM	Austin	A1	7(3- 4)
NEW JERUSALEM	Ingalls	A1	15(8- 7)
NEW MARK		E1	8(1- 7)
NEWPORT	Read	A1	10(4- 6)
NEWTON	Babcock	A1	15(7- 8)
NEW YORK		A1	10(2- 8)
NORFOLK	Brownson	A1	7(5- 2)
NORTHFIELD	Ingalls	A1	10(3- 7)
NORWICH	Brownson	A1	12(4- 8)
OCEAN	Swan	A1	8(4- 4)
OLD HUNDRED	Luther	E1	39(17-22)
OXFORD	Coombs	E1	8(3- 5)
PARMA	Italian	E1	9(2- 7)
PECKHAM	Smith	E2	16(3-13)
PELHAM	Giardini	E1	13(5- 8)
PEMBROKE	Dalmer	E2	8(3- 5)
PLYMOUTH	Tans'ur	E2	20(6-14)
PLYMPTON	Arnold	E2	15(5-10)
POLAND	Swan	A1	11(4- 7)
PORTSMOUTH	Handel	E1	12(6- 6)
PORTUGAL	Thorley	E1	32(11-21)
PORTUGUESE HYMN		E1	21(5-16)
PSALM 25	Gillet	A1	10(4- 6)
PSALM 34	Stephenson	E2	11(6- 5)
PSALM 46	Bull	A1	8(3- 5)
PSALM 93	Chapin	A2	5(2- 3)
PSALM 97	Tuckey	A1	8(1- 7)
PUTNEY	Williams	E2	16(5-11)
REDEEMING LOVE	Worgan	E1	9(1- 8)
REPENTENCE	Peck	A1	7(3- 4)
RESIGNATION		A2	5(3- 2)
ROCHESTER	Williams	E2	21(7-14)
ROCKBRIDGE	Chapin	A2	7(0- 7)
ROCKINGHAM	Chapin	A2	7(0- 7)
RUSSIA	Read	A1	13(8- 5)



RUTLAND	Rippon	E1	6(1- 5)
ST. ANNE'S	Croft	E1	13(5- 8)
ST. ASAPH'S	Milgrove	E1	8(2- 6)
ST. GILES'	Williams	E2	5(1- 4)
ST. HELEN'S	Jennings	E2	17(5-12)
ST. JAMES'	Courteville	E1	7(2- 5)
ST. MARTIN'S	Tans'ur	E2	26(10-16)
ST. MICHAEL'S	Handel	E1	17(4-13)
ST. THOMAS'S	Williams	E2	21(5-16)
SALEM		A1	13(5- 8)
SHERBURNE	Read	A1	10(5- 5)
SHOEL	Shoel	A1	8(1- 7)
SICILIAN HYMN	Italian	E1	13(2-11)
SICILY	Italian	E1	6(1- 5)
SILVER STREET	Smith	E2	17(2-15)
SPRING	Doolittle	A1	6(1- 5)
STAFFORD	Read	A1	8(5- 3)
STERLING	Davis	A2	9(2- 7)
STRATFORD	Goff	E2	3(0- 3)
SUNDAY	West	A1	9(4- 5)
SUTTON		A1	23(9-14)
SYMPHONY	Morgan	A1	7(3- 4)
TAMWORTH	Lockhart	E2	11(0-11)
TRURO	Williams	E2	13(3-10)
TUNBRIDGE	Kimball	A1	10(2- 8)
VERNON	Chapin	A2	5(1- 4)
VICTORY	Read	A1	5(3- 2)
VIRGINIA	Brownson	A1	15(8- 7)
WALSAL	Madan	E1	18(8-10)
WALWORTH	Wainwright	E1	12(4- 8)
WANTAGE	Tans'ur	E2	16(5-11)
WAREHAM	Arnold	E2	13(4-11)
WARREN	Billings	A1	10(3- 7)
WASHINGTON	Ward	A2	7(3- 4)
WELLS	Holydroyd	E1	31(12-19)
WEYMOUTH	Harrison	E1	5(0- 5)
WINCHESTER	Williams	E2	21(6-15)
WINDHAM	Read	A1	20(7-13)
WINDSOR	Kirby	E1	16(6-10)
WINTER	Read	A1	11(2- 9)
WORCESTER	Madan	E1	6(2- 4)
YARMOUTH	Kimball	A1	8(4 -4)
YORK	Ravenscroft	E1	12(5- 7)



As might be expected, a majority of those tunes which were most popular and enduring were those which had origins in England or the continent. English tunes account for 60.5% of the total list, while American tunes account for only 39.5%. The classifications are as follows:

Figure XX. English and American Tunes Found in the List of Most Popular Tunes

English	60.5	American	39.5
E-1	36.8	A-1	33.2
E-2	23.7	A-2	6.3

The leanest classification is the American Folk Hymn category. Actually a number of American folk hymns appear in the sampled tune-books, but only 10 are found in large enough numbers to qualify as "most popular." The folk tradition was only beginning to be represented in the tune-book, and its real popularity is not apparent until the next decade. Among the tunes occasionally found but not included were "Animation," "Fiducia," "Glascow," "Morality," "Solitude," "Solemnity" and "Christmas Hymn."

D. CLASSIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN TUNE-BOOK

1. A Classification According to Use

Although all tune-books were used to provide musical melodies and harmonies for the singing of psalm, hymn and anthem texts, not all books were designed to be used in the same manner, or by the same group of singers. In fact, several distinctly different forms of tune-book are distinguishable.

One form was the book of hymns, denominational and general, which contained music. Since nearly all collections of hymns until the mid-nineteenth century consisted only of hymn texts, there are relatively few tune-books in this category. Most of them are hymnals of German-speaking groups in Pennsylvania.[65] The Evangelical Lutheran Church printed an authorized chorale tune-book in 1813, _Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder Sammlung_, as a companion for its hymnal _Erbauliche Lieder Sammlung_ first printed in 1786 with numerous editions and issues following. This companion book contained 270 melodies drawn from German chorale books.[66] But most German hymnals in America had no such companion book. Christian Funk's _Die Kleine Geistliche Harfe Der Kinder Zions_ (1803) contained a single line of music which accompanied the hymn text on only the first 39 pages of a 400 page volume. The Mennonite _Ein Neues, unpartheyisches Gesangbuch_ (1804) is a similar case. An English hymn collection containing music was _The Young Convert's Companion_ (1806), a small hymnal with an Appendix containing eighteen tunes.

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[65] See Chapter V for additional discussion of German-speaking hymnals.

[66] Carlton York Smith, "Early Lutheran Hymnody in America," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1956), p. 235.

Instruction books in the rudiments of music which also contain psalm tunes are a second type of tune-book. Such books are seldom of great length and were frequently intended to be bound into the front of a larger volume of tunes. Thomas Hastings' Musical Reader (1817) was such a volume. It consisted of 80 pages of "lessons for the voice." The opening pages outlined the basic fundamentals of music. This was followed by musical exercises based on psalm tunes for practice in singing and modulating the voice.

A third type of tune-book was the "four penny gamut." Some gamuts contained only a title page and brief section of rudiments, followed by a number of blank staffed pages for writing music. Many, however, also included a small number of the best known tunes. A Gamut, or Scale of Music (Hartford, 1814) had 32 pages containing twenty tunes. In addition, a number of manuscript pages followed. These gamuts appear to have been widely circulated in considerable numbers.

Books containing primarily anthems and more elaborate arrangements of tunes for the use of advanced singing schools and choirs are a fourth variety of tune-book. One of the best known was A Volume of Sacred Musick (1814) edited by John Hubbard. Hubbard was a highly educated advocate of European musical standards.[67] His volume contained works of Handel, Purcell, and others. Law's Musical Magazine, the third book in The Art of Singing, was originally issued in six parts, each containing a group of anthems. Another collection was the *Old Colony Collection of Anthems* (1814) published by the Old Colony Musical Society and later the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston.

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[67] See Chapter II.

Many churches required chants as well as psalm tunes to meet their worship requirements. The tune-books compiled primarily to fill these requirements constitute another basic type. Such books were usually compiled by musicians active in the musical programs of either the Protestant Episcopal Church or Roman Catholic Church. Benjamin Carr was associated with both, publishing *Masses, Vespers, Litanies . . . for the use of the Catholic Churches* in 1805, followed by *A Collection of Chants & Tunes for the use of the Episcopal Churches* in 1816. John Cole's publications were often printed with an Appendix of service music appropriate for use as doxologies, responses, etc., for morning and evening prayer. Hastings also printed a separate Appendix of sixteen pages entitled "Select Chants and Psalm Tunes for the Episcopal Church" which is bound with his *Musica Sacra* (1815). A 63 page volume printed in 1814 by Joshua Cushing was specifically suited to the needs of the Episcopal Church: *Chants, Occasional Pieces, and Plain Tunes*. George K. Jackson also published several volumes containing chants and service music.

The last and most numerous type by far was the common oblong tune-book. For the most part this type differs from the other types in emphasis, rather than in content. For example, most tune-books contain an "introduction to the rudiments of music," but the book is not primarily concerned with that section, as would be a tune-book of the second type described. Similarly, many tune-books include a page or two of manuscript music paper, most contain a group of anthems, and a few have service music. The great bulk of the content of the common tune-book is, however, plain tunes. All other contents are supplementary and optional. Common tune-books make up about 82% of the entire bibliography. Figure XXI shows the approximate proportions of the types of tune-books according to use as found in the bibliography.

Fig. XXI. Tune-books Classified According to Use.

Type 1	Hymnals with Music	2.5%
Type 2	Instruction books	2.5%
Type 3	Gamuts	4.0%
Type 4	Anthem collections	3.5%
Type 5	Liturg. Service Colls.	5.5%
Type 6	Common Tune-books	82.0%

2. A Classification According to Tune Content

The tune-books have also been classified according to the origins of the tunes they contained. The indexes of the tune-books in the sample have been examined and compared to the list of most popular tunes. For each tune-book the proportion of tunes in each of the four tune classifications was established. These proportions, when compared to the proportion of the popular list, indicate the particular emphasis found in a single tune-book, and provide statistical evidence for the analysis of specific problems dealt with in Chapter V. While many collections were generally mixed in content, others had very high proportions of either European or American tunes. Figure XXII shows the proportions as found in the tune-book sample. The classifications are those defined on pages 130 and 131. Because the popular list is, by its very nature, weighted in favor of English tunes, comparisons must be made against the percentages for each classification in the popular list, rather than on an absolute basis. Thus a tune-book containing less than the 60.5% of English tunes found in the popular list would be considered as leaning toward American tunes, even though more than half of its popular tunes might be English.

E. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been primarily descriptive. The tune-books printed during the period of the study have been examined as a whole in order to determine the nature of the publication. A geographically and chronologically structured sample was developed for the examination of certain problems.

A bibliographical description revealed the large number of editions which were printed and the gradually increasing rate of appearance. The various component sections found in most tune-books were described and the importance or function of each was indicated. It was noted that typographical printing was favored over engravure during the period, and

CLASSIFICATION OF SAMPLE TUNE-BOOKS BY POPULAR TUNE CONTENT

Fig. XXII

N	R	T	P	%	E	%	E1	%	E2	%	A	%	A1	%	A2	%
1	I	61	9	14.8	3	33.3	1	11.1	2	22.2	6	66.7	5	55.6	1	11.1
2	I	98	49	50.0	23	46.9	15	30.6	8	16.3	26	53.1	26	53.1	0	0.0
3	III	54	12	22.2	7	58.3	6	50.0	1	8.3	5	41.7	5	41.7	0	0.0
4	I	157	78	49.7	58	74.4	33	42.3	25	32.1	20	25.6	18	23.1	2	2.6
5	I	266	48	18.0	25	54.2	13	27.1	13	27.1	22	45.8	20	41.7	2	4.2
6	III	34	4	11.8	0	00.0	0	00.0	0	00.0	4	100.0	2	50.0	2	50.0
7	III	87	47	54.0	19	40.4	8	17.0	11	23.4	28	59.6	27	57.5	1	2.1
8	II	71	39	54.9	29	74.4	16	41.0	13	33.3	10	25.6	7	17.9	3	7.7
9	III	20	19	95.0	13	68.4	5	26.3	8	42.1	6	31.6	6	31.6	0	0.0
10	I	135	12	8.9	5	41.7	3	25.0	2	16.7	7	58.3	6	50.0	1	8.3
11	I	119	47	39.5	32	68.1	21	44.7	11	23.4	15	31.9	15	31.9	0	0.0
12	I	110	21	19.1	4	19.0	2	9.5	2	9.5	17	81.0	16	76.2	1	4.8
13	I	54	8	14.8	4	50.0	3	37.5	1	12.5	4	50.0	3	37.5	1	12.5
14	I	26	10	38.5	5	50.0	2	20.0	3	30.0	5	50.0	5	50.0	0	0.0
15	III	100	45	45.0	12	26.7	6	13.3	6	13.3	33	73.3	30	66.7	3	6.7
16	I	99	55	55.6	22	40.0	12	21.8	10	18.2	33	60.0	32	58.2	1	1.8
17	II	71	34	47.9	13	38.2	7	20.6	6	17.6	21	61.8	19	55.9	2	5.9
18	I	123	85	69.1	71	83.5	38	44.7	33	38.8	14	16.5	14	16.5	0	0.0
19	II	72	30	41.7	19	63.3	11	36.7	8	26.7	11	36.7	9	30.0	2	6.7
20	II	66	38	57.6	13	34.2	10	26.3	3	7.9	25	65.8	25	65.8	0	0.0
21	II	140	52	37.1	35	67.3	24	46.2	11	21.2	17	32.7	16	30.8	1	1.9
22	I	95	68	71.6	61	89.7	35	51.5	26	38.2	7	10.3	7	10.3	0	0.0
23	V	16	7	43.8	2	28.6	2	28.6	0	00.0	5	71.4	5	71.4	0	0.0
24	II	78	18	23.1	13	72.2	11	61.1	2	11.1	5	27.8	5	27.8	0	0.0
25	I	29	5	17.2	3	60.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	2	40.0	0	0.0
26	II	186	45	24.2	28	62.2	19	42.2	9	20.0	17	37.8	16	35.6	1	2.2
27	I	107	45	42.1	40	88.9	24	53.3	16	35.6	5	11.1	4	8.9	1	2.2
28	II	206	58	28.2	36	62.1	24	41.4	12	20.7	22	37.9	20	34.5	2	3.4
29	I	92	47	51.1	25	53.2	9	19.1	16	34.0	22	46.8	22	46.8	0	0.0
30	I	82	57	69.5	50	87.7	27	47.4	23	40.4	7	12.3	6	10.5	1	1.8
31	IV	149	30	20.1	15	50.0	12	40.0	3	10.0	15	50.0	6	20.0	9	30.0
32	II	123	46	37.4	15	32.6	7	15.2	8	17.4	31	67.4	31	67.4	0	0.0
33	III	20	19	95.0	13	68.4	5	26.3	8	42.1	6	31.6	6	31.6	0	0.0
34	III	86	62	72.1	57	91.9	28	45.2	29	46.8	5	8.1	5	8.1	0	0.0
35	I	94	67	71.3	61	91.0	32	47.8	29	43.3	6	9.0	6	9.0	0	0.0
36	V	132	45	34.1	19	42.2	12	26.7	7	15.6	26	57.8	24	53.3	2	4.4
37	III	100	71	71.0	37	52.1	20	28.2	17	23.9	34	47.9	34	47.9	0	0.0
38	IV	103	85	82.5	42	49.4	20	23.5	22	25.9	43	50.6	37	43.5	6	7.1
39	I	301	131	43.5	101	77.1	59	45.0	42	32.1	30	22.9	28	21.4	2	1.5
40	I	288	95	33.0	74	77.9	38	40.0	36	37.9	21	22.1	17	17.9	4	4.2
41	II	111	56	50.5	38	67.9	23	41.1	15	26.8	18	32.1	15	26.8	3	5.4
42	I	112	83	74.1	66	79.5	40	48.2	26	31.3	17	20.5	16	19.3	1	1.2
43	IV	103	27	26.2	9	33.3	7	25.9	2	7.4	18	66.7	13	48.1	5	18.5
44	I	45	38	84.4	35	92.1	18	47.4	17	44.7	3	7.9	3	7.9	0	0.0
45	III	226	85	37.6	68	80.0	45	52.9	23	27.1	17	20.0	13	15.3	4	4.7
46	I	85	47	55.3	38	80.9	17	36.2	21	44.7	9	19.4	8	17.0	1	2.1
47	II	117	72	61.5	52	72.2	27	38.5	25	34.7	20	27.8	20	27.8	0	0.0
48	II	149	46	30.9	34	73.9	24	52.2	10	21.7	12	26.1	12	26.1	0	0.0
49	IV	143	89	62.2	52	58.4	24	26.9	28	31.5	37	41.6	29	31.6	8	10.0
50	III	180	74	41.1	61	82.4	39	52.7	22	29.7	13	17.6	11	14.9	2	2.7

that the high cost of obtaining musical type was offset by the increasing quantities of books sold by the larger publishers. The most common dimensions were shown to be the oblong book approximately 5" x 9".

A musicological description reviewed the musical structure of the psalm tunes and notations used. A list of nearly two hundred of the most popular tunes as found in the sample was developed, and these tunes were then classified as European or American. The popular tunes in each tune-book in the sample were then compared with this list, and the book was classified, in turn, according to the proportion of each group represented. These explorations make possible the definition of a basic pattern of description for the tune-book and the measurement of stylistic variation. Such information is essential in defining the role of the tune-book in American culture.

Key to Figure XXII

N--Number in Sample
R--Geographical Region
T--Total tunes in volume
P--Number of tunes found on Popular List
E--Total English tunes
A--Total American tunes

CHAPTER IV

THE INSTITUTIONAL ROLES OF THE TUNE-BOOK

In our times, of all men, singers are the most foolish. For in any art those things which we know of ourselves are much more numerous than those which we learn from a master. As soon as they have read the Psalter attentively, small boys know the meanings of all books. Rustics understand the science of agriculture at once, for he who knows how to prune one vineyard, to plant one tree, to load one ass, does not hesitate to do in all cases as he did in the one, if not even better. But marvelous singers, and singers' pupils, though they sing every day for one hundred years, will never sing one antiphon, not even a short one, of themselves, without a master, losing time enough in singing to have learned thoroughly both sacred and secular letters.

Guido D'Arezzo*
c. 1025

The advantages of musical societies are innumerable: they have the most immediate tendency to promote a proper kind of friendly intercourse between neighbors, and absolutely prevent every species of evil consequence which might otherwise intrude. Improvement is the certain effect, not only in Music, but in most other social accomplishments. Such societies are richly worthy the patronage of the great and good, both in church and state; for they not only teach us to praise God with the understanding as well as the spirit, but are perfectly congenial with the nature of our glorious constitution.

Samuel Emerson**
Portland, 1800

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*Quoted from Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music in Music History (New York, 1950), p. 117.

**An Oration on Music" (Portland, 1800), p. 18.

A. INTRODUCTION

The tune-book was much more than an inert piece of published material—an artifact designed for practical service in the singing of psalmody. The tune-book took on, so to speak, a life of its own, affecting and molding the musical tastes, if not the lives, of individuals, families, church societies, communities and entire regions. Because of its activities in connection with these individuals and groups one can speak of a series of roles which it played. These roles are treated in two sections; Chapter IV is a study of the tune-book's roles as they were performed in or related to institutions, such as singing schools, churches, musical societies, and in the Second Great Awakening. Chapter V considers the role of the tune-book as an instrument in the reform and dissemination of musical taste.

B. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SINGING SCHOOL AND THE TUNE-BOOK

The principal institution with which the tune-book was associated was the singing school. Moreover, the development of both tune-book and singing school was roughly parallel. It should be noted, too, that since church choirs and musical societies were closely related to the singing school, the roles played by the tune-book in the singing school were about the same in these other organizations.

The tune-book is the primary document of the singing school; i.e., it is a nearly exclusive printed source for the entire range of singing school activities. Conversely, it is in the singing school that the tune-book played its fullest and most vital roles, and it is in association with that institution that the tune-book is chiefly remembered. The tune-book can thus be said to have been vitally involved in all aspects of the operation of a singing school, whether these aspects were religious, educational, aesthetic, social or merely operational. Each of these varying aspects required differing roles of the tune-book. These roles, in turn, were played alternately and simultaneously by the tune-book, both actively, as it transmitted each aspect to successive classes, schools and individuals, and passively, as it reflected the preferences and attitudes toward those aspects by students, musicians and compilers.

It seems perfectly clear, therefore, that an understanding of the tune-book's roles is intimately bound up with the life of the singing school as an institution--its origins, purposes, development, metamorphosis and decline. Consequently, the tune-book is considered in the following sections in light of the development of the singing school in New England.

1. The Place of Psalmody in New England

When the practice of vocal music, ordained by God as a scriptural form of worship,[1] fell into disuse, the singing school came into being. Developed by clergymen in the 1720's to halt the further decline of musical practice, particularly among the young people of the church, the singing school evolved into one of the major institutionalized forms of succeeding decades. It reached its peak of influence during the period 1770-1820, but continued to be important in some areas well through the nineteenth century. The urgent need for such an institution can be understood if one considers the important place accorded psalmody in the Puritan tradition.

The importance of psalmody to the early settlers of New England can be measured by the fervor with which the people sang and worshipped. Edward Johnson, writing of the first settlers of Concord, Massachusetts in 1635 noted:

> After they have thus found out a place of aboad, they burrow themselves in the Earth for their first shelter under some Hill-Side, casting the Earth aloft upon TIMBER they make a smoaky fire against the Earth at the highest side, and thus these poore servants of Christ provide shelter for themselves, their wives and little ones . . .; yet in these poore Wigwames they sing Psalmes, pray and praise their God till they can provide them houses . . .[2]

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[1] The four basic scripturally inspired aspects of Puritan worship were the reading of scripture, preaching of the Word, prayer, and singing of psalmody.

[2] Edward Johnson, A History of New England from the English Planting in the yeere 1628 until the year 1652 (London, 1654), p. 83; as quoted by Alan C. Buechner, "Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England, 1760-1800" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, 1960), p. 9.

There is also evidence of the presence of capable musicians in the Plymouth colony.

> They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house . . . where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.[3]

And although from time to time the manner of singing was debated, most agreed on the propriety of singing itself. The Rev. John Cotton, highly esteemed clergyman, affirmed the importance of singing in his treatise entitled,

> _Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance_, or a Treatise wherein are handled these four particulars. 1. Touching the Duty it selfe. 2. Touching the Matter to be Sung. 3. Touching the Singers. 4. Touching the Manner of Singing. By John Cotton, Teacher of the Church at _Boston_ in _New England_. London . . . 1647.

In the first section of this work, Cotton debated whether it was proper to sing at all. He concluded from scriptural evidence that psalm singing is a mandate in worship.

It is apparent that the quality of music suffered somewhat even in the first generation of settlement, for Thomas Lechford asked in 1640:

> If Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual songs are to be sung in the Church, and to sing melodiously, and with good harmony, is the gift of God, and uncomely singing a kind of sin in the holy

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[3] Edward Winslow, _Hypocrisie Unmasked_; as quoted by John Tasker Howard, _Our American Music_ (3rd ed., New York, 1954), p. 4.

> Assemblies; why should not the chiefe leaders, and rulers of the Church, appoint some, in their stead, to take care of the singings of the Church?[4]

So it was that singing was instituted as an integral part of New England religious life and worship. The rich pages of the Diary of Samuel Sewall[5] give a glimpse both of the love of singing psalmody, but also the increasing difficulty which congregations had in performing the music. This failing does not seem attributable to the Puritan proscription of all but psalmody in church. As Percy Scholes pointed out, the Puritans did not prohibit musical activity from daily life.[6] Apparently the decline in ability to sing psalms was as much a problem in the provincial cities of England, for about the same time that Sewall was lamenting the situation, the Englishman Arthur Bedford wrote in Bristol:

> The Great Abuse of Musick. In Two Parts containing an account of the Use and Design of Musick among the Ancient Jews, Greeks, Romans, and others; with their concern for, and care to prevent the Abuse thereof. And also an Account of the Immorality and Profaness, which is occasioned by the Corruption of that most noble Science in the Present Age. London . . . 1711.

Hood noted that,

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[4] Thomas Lechford, Plain Dealing, or News from New England, 1641. Reprinted with an introduction and notes by J. Hammon Trumbull (Boston, 1867), p. 137; as quoted by Alan C. Buechner, "Yankee Singing Schools," p. 16.

[5] 3 Vols., Massachusetts Historical Society, 1876-1882.

[6] Percy A. Scholes, Music and Puritanism in England and New England (London, 1962; 1934).

> the cultivation of music was neglected, until in the latter part of the seventeenth, and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the congregations were rarely able to sing more than three or four tunes. The knowledge and use of notes, too, has so long been neglected, that the few melodies sung, became corrupted, until no two individuals sang them alike. Every melody was "tortured and twisted" [embellished?] "as every unskillful throat saw fit", until their psalms were uttered in a medley of confused and disorderly noises, rather than in a decorous song.[7]

Hood then quoted Rev. Thomas Walter, one of the clergymen deeply concerned with the decline in singing, saying that the singing sounded "like five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time." Walter further commented on the absence of attention to time and the "tedious" and "drawling" manner of singing such that "I myself have twice in one note paused to take a breath."[8] Gilbert Chase describes this clash of noises as a manifestation of the folk singing style; i.e., the psalm tunes had, in the course of one hundred years, become folk tunes, passed orally from one generation to another with all of the accompanying improvisation and alteration.[9] Chase defends this folk style, noting that scholars have been quick to cite the critical forays of the opponents of the folk tradition as evidence of the low state of American music during the colonial period.[10]

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[7] George Hood, *A History of Music in New England* (Boston, 1846), p. 84.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

[9] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music* (New York, 1955), Chapter II, pp. 22-40.

The singing school became a logical development when one recognizes the high importance placed upon learning and education by Congregational clergymen, and their attendant fear that the environment would be a barbarizing influence. When several clergymen raised strident complaints against the low state of "common" singing and advocated the restoration of the old practice of "regular" singing, or singing by note, the atmosphere was proper for the development of educational methods for the implementation of their desires.

2. Early Singing Schools

The singing school was a social phenomenon which evolved in New England and became enormously successful as the direct result of the congruence of a number of specific social conditions. Such an institution is not generally noted in histories of Western music, and, in any event, seems not likely to have occurred in the form which typified New England. While the Jews had entrusted the tribe of Levi with the musical duties of the Temple, and a *schola cantorum* had been in existence in the Vatican for many centuries, no singing school was known. In the Middle Ages the performance of music had been the responsibility of a serving class of *minstrels* and *jongleurs*. Only in the Renaissance is one aware of a wide participation of the people in performance. In

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

England, especially, the wide popularity of madrigal singing and its acceptance as a social grace[11] gave birth to a number of books designed to instruct the novice in the secrets of music.[12] Even so, the movement remained an aristocratic and upper middle class convention, and seems not to have permeated the lower classes.[13] For the poor English masses there remained the rich ballad literature, passed down from Tudor days orally and on broadsides.[14] Whether any form of organized singing instruction accompanied the transmission of ballad literature is not known; it is most probably doubtful. The singing school as it developed in New England, then, is a historically important and unique organization. Similarly the conditions which brought such an organization into being were unique.

Many confluent elements or conditions produced the singing school; first, the presence among the people of New England of a high degree of religious piety, and the extraordinary degree to which this piety entered daily affairs; second, the Reformed tradition, in which the singing of psalmody, unadorned by instruments or vested choirs, was equally important in worship with prayer, scripture and the sermon, and thus an integral, rather than decorative part of the religious life; third, the deep and natural affinity of the English, Welsh and Scotch for singing, evinced not only in the singing of psalmody, but also in the widespread singing of popular ballads and bawdy songs, in taverns and for practically all secular occasions;[15] fourth, the rural aspect of the people, willing and able to be entertained by simplicity rather than complexity, by homespun artistic achievements more closely akin to the folk tradition than the sophisticated cosmopolitan tradition; fifth, the common need for an acceptable, approved and structured form of social contact for the young people; sixth, the generally held understanding that vocal music, so essential in worship, was in a state of precipitous decline demanding immediate remedial instruction; finally, the precedent for popular community instruction set by the common grammar school, and the democratic manner in which small groups of people were prone to provide for practical enlightenment within the community. These factors all made possible the emergence of the singing school as a New England institution. As will be discussed subsequently, those basic factors changed relatively little as the singing school migrated with the Yankee settlers in the west and southwest. They were the factors which made the singing school one of the distinctively American institutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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[11] See Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman (1622).

[12] E.G., Thomas Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (London, 1957).

[13] Morrison Comegys Boyd, Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism (Philadelphia, 1940).

[14] See G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., Native American Balladry, (Philadelphia, 1950), and Leslie Shepard, The Broadside Ballad (Hatboro, Pa, 1962).

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[15] See Tristram P. Coffin, The British Traditional Ballad in North America (Philadelphia, 1950), and John and Alan Lomax, American Ballads and Folk Songs (New York, 1935).

The first singing schools or musical societies appear to have been organized about the same time as the publication of the first instruction books. Gilfillan places the beginnings of the singing schools at about 1713,[16] although he fails to offer any convincing argument for that date. One possible piece of evidence would be a Boston reprint of the New Version[17] which contained at least nine tunes and appeared in 1713.[18] This book may have contained an extensive musical supplement, but no copy remains today. A good number of teachers were offering private tutoring in psalm singing during the early 1700's, and it is likely that some of these teachers may have begun instruction on a class basis. Several of the early treatises also noted that efforts to improve singing were then in progress. Buechner notes that the singing school, in its earlier stages, developed in individual churches, dependent on the initiative of certain clergymen rather than as a highly organized effort.[19] More certain is the fact that by the time Walter Tuft's Introduction was published in 1721, several societies were in operation, including Boston's Society for Promoting Regular Singing.[20] Singing lectures were given with increasing frequency. By 1723 regular singing had been adopted in many towns, attesting to the success of singing instruction.[21] Alan C. Buechner has made several outstanding contributions to research in this era of the singing school. First, he has shown that the leadership for the singing reform came from an enlightened group of ministers who gained their music education at Harvard. The "Harvard Theses" were a group of Latin propositions to be defended in Latin. They were based upon statements contained in Johan H. Alsted's Encyclopedia (Herborn, 1630), the third volume of which contained a chapter on music theory. Although music did not appear specifically in the Harvard curriculum, it was presumably included in its theoretical aspects under the study of Mathematics and Physics.[22] These Harvard clergymen, then, brought a classical training and point of view to the singing movement.

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[16] John A. Gilfillan, "Singing Schools in America" (unpublished M. Music dissertation, 1939), p. 9.

[17] Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms.

[18] Allen P. Britton and Irving Lowens, "Unlocated Titles in Early Sacred American Music," Notes, XI (1953), p. 37.

[19] Alan Clark Buechner, "Yankee Singing Schools," p. 63.

Another contribution by Buechner is his research establishing the pattern of reform in the New England churches. He notes a sociological phenomenon in quoting one of Cotton Mather's letters:

> Our Ministers generally Encouraged the people, to accomplish themselves for a Regular singing, and a more beautiful Psalmody. Such Numbers of good people, (and Especially young people)

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[20] Samuel Sewall, Diary, VII, pp. 284-285.

[21] Buechner, op. cit., p. 78.

[22] Ibid., pp. 87-89.

> became Regular Singers, that they could carry it in the Congregations. But who would beleeve it? Tho' in the more polite City of Boston, this Design mett with a General acceptance, in the Countrey, where they have more of the Rustick, some Numbers of Elder and Angry people bore zealous Testimonies against these wicked Innovations, and this bringing in of Popery.[23]

Taking his cue from Hood,[24] and by carefully reading printed sermons, church records and histories, Buechner was able to demonstrate the approximate dates of the acceptance of regular singing in the various towns of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire. Ranging from the period before 1723 in communities in and around Boston, the introduction was successfully delayed by conservative factions until the 1730's and 1740's in western Massachusetts and Connecticut.[25]

A third contribution is Buechner's assertion, in contrast to much other secondary opinion, that the Great Awakening contributed relatively little to the development of regular singing. It is true that much spirited singing was associated with the revivals, but much of this was not in keeping with the 'solemn, dignified, and carefully measured style of singing advocated by the reformers.' He notes that the decline of the revival led to a resurgence of the singing school as a proper place for the improvement of psalm singing.[26] Interesting and revealing parallels will be explored during the Second Great Awakening.

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[23] Buechner, op. cit., p. 102; quoted from Cotton Mather, "A Letter to Thomas Hollis, dated Nov. 5, 1723," in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series, Vol. VIII (Boston, 1912), p. 693.

[24] Hood, op. cit., p. 142.

[25] Buechner, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

Concurrent with the first singing schools came the publication of the first volumes which might be called tune-books. Essays also appeared which recorded the arguments of a fifty year debate between advocates of regular and common singing.

3. Early Tune-books and Essays on Singing

The earliest musical publication to encourage regular singing was a small book by John Tufts *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* [First edition, Boston, 1721]. Irving Lowens has called the publication of this thin volume "the beginning of organized music education in America."[27] Although dates as early as 1710 have been suggested, the first surviving copy is the fifth edition of 1726.[28] Lowens notes the apparent success of this book (11 editions to 1744), and its companion volume by Rev. Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained, or an Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note*

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[26] Buechner, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[27] Irving Lowens, "John Tufts *Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* (1721-1744): The First American Music Textbook," in *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York, 1964), p. 39.

[28] In the Rosenbach Foundation Collection, Philadelphia.

(Boston, 1721). Walter, in a sermon preached at a lecture in Boston sponsored by the "society for promoting regular and good singing," called for reform "that the present church may deserve the honorable names of Israelites."[29] "Music is by its own nature sweet and pleasant" and "there is scarce any thing in the whole creation of God, so wonderful and astonishing, as the Doctrine of Sounds and Harmony."[30] Walter was joined by many of the most capable leaders of New England in his call for singing reform--the Mathers,[31] Jonathan Edwards, Solomon Stoddard, Thomas Symmes,[32] Josiah Dwight,[33] Peter Thacher,[34] and Thomas Prince.[35] In Cases of Conscience about Singing Psalms, John and Samuel Danforth and Peter Thacher, three clergymen, said,

> We cannot but think that some of our Congregations have too much indulged themselves in Ignorance and Carelessness; while they have forgot, or never learned to distinguish one Tune from another by its name; as to know which is Oxford Tune and which is Windsor Tune, and so the rest; and therefore it is high Time to learn to know them by their Names; and that it is conducing thereunto to have the Tune named

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[29] The Sweet Psalmist of Israel (Boston, 1722).

[30] Ibid.

[31] Cotton Mather, The Accomplished Singer (Boston, 1721).

[32] Reasonableness of Regular Singing, or, Singing by Note (Boston, 1720); and Utile Dulci, or a joco-serious dialogue, concerning regular singing (Boston, 1723).

[33] An Essay to Silence The Outcry That has Been Made in Some Places Against Regular Singing (Boston, 1725).

[34] Cases of Conscience about Singing Psalms (Boston, 1723), Signed by Peter Thacher, John Danforth and Samuel Danforth.

[35] George Hood, A History of Music in New England, p. 85.

> before hand as well as the Psalm to be sung in it; so that People may know that there is a difference between one Tune and another and may come by degrees to observe and keep that difference, and may leave off being so disorderly, as to sing part of two or three Tunes, in singing four or eight Lines.

The efforts of these ministers were opposed, however, by resistant groups in most churches, and by some ministers. Hood noted one such case found in the New England Courant, September 16, 1723.[36]

> Last week a Council of Churches was held at the South part of Braintree, to regulate the disorders occasioned by regular singing in that place, Mr. Niles, the minister having suspended seven or eight of the church for persisting in their singing by rule, contrary, as he apprehended, to the result of a former Council; but the suspended brethren are restored to communion, their suspension declared unjust, and the congregation ordered to sing by Rote and by Rule alternately for the satisfaction of both parties.

The argument was apparently not settled by this compromise, for one finds in the same newspaper on December 9, 1723.[37]

> We have advice from the South part of Braintree, that on Sunday the first instant, Mr. Niles, the minister of that place, performed the duties of the day at his dwelling-house, among those of the congregation who are opposers of regular singing. The regular singers met together at the meeting-house and sent for Mr. Niles, who refused to come unless they would first promise not to sing regularly; whereupon they concluded to edify themselves by the assistance of one of the Deacons who at their desire prayed with them, read a sermon, & c.

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

[37] *Ibid.*

It can be seen that this issue was strongly contested and became a divisive force in community worship with the ministers forced to take sides in many cases. Chief among the objections to "regular" singing [i.e., singing from musical notation] were: "1. That it was a new way;--an unknown tongue." The musical practices of the first generation of settlers were forgotten by the early 18th century. "2. That it was not so melodious as the usual way." This supports Chase's folk melody theory that the New Englanders improvised upon the simple tune melodies, making them highly elaborate melodically. Reading only the notes would restrict the practice of improvisation greatly. "3. That there were so many tunes, one could never learn them." Practice had declined to a basic repertoire of less than a half-dozen tunes by the early 18th century. The 1698 edition of the Bay Psalm Book had contained only 13 tunes. "4. That the new way made disturbance in churches, grieved good men, exasperated them and caused them to behave disorderly." Such behavior in worship would have been antithetical to a basic concept of Congregational worship. The validity of such complaints is borne out, moreover, by such incidents as that reported above in South Braintree. "5. That it was popish." Any activity which threatened to regulate church ritual in the slightest degree was labeled "popish," a term calculated to provoke reservation in the most liberal of Puritans. The ancient ritual and musical elaboration of the Roman Catholic church was one of the primary areas simplified by the Genevan reformers. Calvin had opposed the use of instruments in worship as well as harmonized arrangements of psalm melodies. Further, the musical repertoire was limited to the singing of psalmody. The use of anthems, hymns or other sacred music was not permitted. New Englanders inherited these prejudices from the English reformers, the Puritan party of the Anglican church. Once regular singing was established, it was reasoned, musical instruments would be required to set the pitch and support the singing. The introduction of the pitch pipe by singing masters toward the end of the eighteenth century proved, in fact, the realization of these fears. "6. That it would introduce instruments. This is related to the "popish" argument. 7. That the names of the notes were blasphemous. 8. That it was needless, the old way being good enough. 9. That it was only a contrivance to get money. 10. That it required too much time to learn it, made the young disorderly, and kept them from the proper influence of family, & c. & c."[38]

Nathaniel Chauncey, in an essay published in 1727, Singing the Songs of the Lord, asked the question "whether in singing the Songs of the Lord, we ought to proceed by a certain Rule, or to do it in any loose, defective, irregular way, that this, or that people, have accustomed themselves unto?"[39] He then affirms,

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[38] The ten objections to regular singing as listed by George Hood, History of Music, pp. 86-87.

[39] Hood, op. cit., p. 125.

> That there is _one and only one_ sure and certain Rule to proceed by, in singing the songs of the _Lord_; so much knowledge of which, as is needful to the due performance of this part of Divine Service, it is the duty of _all_, who are to bear a part in singing of those songs, to attain.[40]

As one argument was added to another, the need for instruction in regular singing seemed powerfully demonstrated and the singing school was begun as an instrument for the accomplishment of that need. The nascent tune-book was assigned the task of providing an expanded repertoire of psalm tunes, and of supplying a concise set of musical instructions for the benefit of those uninitiated into the mysteries of musical "science." Beyond these limited aims it is unlikely that any further development of music was envisioned. The purpose of the singing school was clearly the improvement of congregational singing through a knowledge of reading music, and the role of the tune-book was the facilitation of that process.

4. Tune-books and Singing Schools to 1800

Both Buechner and Ralph T. Daniel[41] subdivide the history of New England church music into approximately identical periods; Buechner calls 1720-1800 the "American" period, which included the first flowering of choral music based upon the compositions of native composers, generally self-taught, while the second period, 1800-1880, is called the

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[40] _Ibid._, p. 129.

[41] Ralph T. Daniel, "The Anthem in New England Before 1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1955), pp. 256-257.

"European" period during which the music of native composers fell into disrepute and was replaced, especially in the urban centers, by European music and methods.[42] Each of the above two periods can be further subdivided. The "American" period subdivides roughly into two forty year segments; 1720-1760 is a segment during which singing was re-established with the extensive development of congregational singing of psalmody, together with the use of a limited amount of hymnody and instrumental accompaniment;[43] the segment 1760-1800 showed a "remarkable expansion of the quantity and quality" of church music, together with the extensive publication of larger musical forms such as anthems, set pieces and fuges. The objectives of the singing school became, during this second segment, more oriented to the development of youth choirs which, while continuing to support the singing of the congregation, devoted more and more attention to the performance of the more elaborate choral compositions.

The "European" period likewise is divisible into at least two segments: the first, roughly 1800-1825, was an important transitional period during which the high point of native composition reached during the 1790's lost favor steadily to the "most approved" church music of the European traditions. It was also the period during which the first marked divergence between the learned and the folk tradition in sacred music appears. The second segment, 1825-1880, had, accord-

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[42] Buechner, op. cit., p. 2.

[43] Daniel, op. cit., pp. 256-257.

ing to Buechner, a primary objective of implementing the "Victorian ideal of congregational music with the new methodology based upon Pestalozzian principles."[44] During this period, the growth of a mass society led also to the establishment of public school music,[45] and the proliferation of musical organizations both for choral and instrumental music.[46] Moreover, the ever widening range of musical activity, including the widely promoted tours of name European artists, make this segment one of the most exciting and fertile eras for research in American artistic history. But the singing school and tune-book tradition was virtually ended by 1880 and has little resemblance, in any event, with the vigorous institutions of the turn of the previous century.

The importation of the major choral forms began with the first American publication of William Tans'ur's Royal Melody Compleat (London, 1755, 1760, 1764-1766) and Aaron Williams' Universal Psalmodist (London, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1770) in a composite edition by Daniel Bayley of Newburyport: The American Harmony (eleven printings 1767-1774).[47] This composite volume and its many printings included fuging-tunes and anthems, and exercised much influence on native composers, the singing school movement and subsequent tune-books. Through the challenge of mastering the melodic and rhythmic complexities of these new forms, the singing school evolved from an organization designed to reform congregational singing, to a society whose purpose was the performance of the more intricate choral works.[48] This was a primary change of purpose and a key event in the development both of the modern day church choir and the large nineteenth century choral societies. The new American tune-books, patterned after Bayley's composite, adapted their role to meet these changing needs. Henceforth tune-books provided the more elaborate music required by church choirs and choral societies as well as the ordinary melodies for congregational psalm singing.

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[44] Buechner, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[45] Lowell Mason was the main figure in the development of public school music in this early period.

[46] Including the New York Philharmonic and Philadelphia Musical Fund Society.

[47] Papers, Bibliographical Society of America, Vol. 49 (Fall, 1955), pp. 340-354.

Some important volumes in the early development of the tune-book were James Lyon's _Urania_ (Philadelphia, 1761), Josiah Flagg's _Collection of the best Psalm Tunes_ (Boston, 1764) and Daniel Bayley's _A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Music_ (Newburyport, 1764). These tune-books prepared the way for the avalanche of tune-books which descended in the next sixty years, beginning with the well-known _New England Psalm Singer: or American Chorister_ of William Billings (Boston, 1770). Hood says of this book:

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[48] Buechner, _op. cit._, p. 127.

> This opened a new era for the history of psalmody in the colonies. The churches were at that time passing another mutation in the matter of their music. Watt's Psalms and Hymns were then just being substituted for the Bay Psalm Book and other works. Billings saw the desire for change, and threw into the current of feeling, a style of music differing from that in use, but not yet so widely, as to violate their prejudices. This for him was the time for success; the tide of affairs all moved in his favor. The cultivation of music had been increasing since the time of the Reformation, in 1720, and the increased demand for music, was, as yet, but imperfectly supplied. The works that had preceded his, had afforded but a small variety; his gave more; and as the last and greatest charm, it was the first American composition ever published in this country; and bearing a spice of patriotism on its pages, it became in that patriotic day, except with the critics, quite popular.[49]

This work of Billings is well known and his contribution is evaluated in other studies.[50] During the early nineteenth century he was one of the key composers of the native school whose works were disputed by the reformers. Other eighteenth century compilers and composers include Asahel Benham (1757-1805), Jacob French (b. 1754), Abraham Wood (1752-1804), Daniel Read (1757-1836), Daniel Belknap (1771-1815), Elias Mann (1750-1825), Timothy Swan (1757-1842), Amos Bull (1744-?), Supply Belcher (1751-1836), Jacob Kimball (1761-1826), Justin Morgan (1747-1798) and others. These composers are discussed in detail in Allen P. Britton's "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-books to

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[49] Hood, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

[50] J. Murray Barbour, The Church Music of William Billings (East Lansing, 1960); Allen Garrett, The Works of William Billings (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1952); Raymond Morin, "Williams Billings, Pioneer in American Music," The New England Quarterly (March, 1941).

1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1949) to which the reader is directed for the most thorough treatment of the tune-book before 1800. The tune-books published before 1801 are listed in a bibliography which Britton has compiled. Britton notes that, by the close of 1800, at least one hundred eleven individual tune-books had been published in the oblong format. Thirty-six of these were issued in more than one edition for a total of two hundred seventy-two editions.[51]

C. INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS RELATED TO PERFORMANCE FROM TUNE-BOOKS

The parallel development of the singing school and tune-book was marked by a number of special problems which affected the development of each. Particularly was the role of the tune-book affected by certain institutional practices or traditions which prevailed. These traditions are called "problems" because each represented a source of controversy at one time or another. The problems do not begin nor end during the limited period of this study, but do represent important considerations affecting the role of the tune-book within that time.

1. Lining-Out

The long-in-dying practice of lining-out the psalms is a procedure by which a deacon "read or intoned" the first verse of a psalm, then

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[51] Britton, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

> he proceeded to set that verse to music by singing each line of the text to the correct musical phrase of the tune, a line at a time. This meant that he would sing the words of the first line of the verse to the first phrase of the tune and the congregation would sing this line in imitation of him immediately thereafter. He next would sing the words of the second line of the verse to the second phrase of the tune and the congregation would sing this line in imitation of him. This process went on line by line until the verse was completed. Then the process would begin over again as the second verse was taken up and read.[52]

Lining-out was a custom which first gained a place in worship in churches where the congregation could not read. Apparently the Westminster Assembly of 1643-1644 recommended that in congregations where many of the members were unable to read, that the minister or officer read the psalm line by line, before singing it.[53] Cotton Mather said in Church Discipline; or Methods and Customs in the Churches in New England (Boston, 1726):

> In some [churches], the assembly being furnished with Psalm-books, they sing without the stop of reading between every line. But ordinarily the Psalm is read line after line, by him whom the Pastor desires to do that service; and the people generally sing in such grave tunes, as are the most usual in the churches of our nation.

Hood indicated that the practice was nearly universal in New England churches by 1750[55] and had become entrenched as an indispensable custom. "A scheme that was designed only to meet an emergency for the poor, to the great injury of the church, was adopted for all."[56] The practice of lining out came into direct conflict with the desires of the reformers of congregational singing. As fortune would have it, the deacon who led the psalmody was seldom selected for his musical ability, but for his position in the community. Judge Sewall is undoubtedly the best known deacon who led the singing; although he had deep interests in music, he quite candidly describes his own difficulty in setting the tune in his Diary.

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[52] Buechner, op. cit., p. 24. Based on a reading of Billings' introduction to The Continental Harmony (Boston, 1794).

[53] Chase, op. cit., p. 31.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Hood, op. cit., p. 184.

With the Great Awakening the stodgy manner of singing was deemed too restrained and confining; just as there had been a great storm over "regular" singing in the 1720's, there arose now considerable controversy over this issue. Isaac Watts, in the preface to an early edition of his Psalms and Hymns said:

> It were to be wished that all congregations and private families would sing as they do in foreign Protestant countries, without reading line by line. Though the Author has done what he could to make the sense complete in every line or two; yet many inconveniences will always attend this unhappy manner of singing. But where it cannot be altered, these two things may give some relief.
>
> First, Let as many as can do it, bring psalm books with them, and look on the words while they sing, so far as to make the sense complete.
>
> Secondly. Let the clerk read the whole psalm over aloud, before he begins to parcel out the lines; that the people

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[56] Ibid., p. 185.

> may have some notion of what they sing, and not be forced to drag on heavily through eight tedious syllables, without any meaning until the next line comes to give the sense of them.[57]

The practice of lining-out the psalm was, as might be expected, vigorously opposed by the members of the choir. Nothing could seem more destructive of the aims of singing schools and sacred music in general than this practice. Moreover, choirs never have been noted for their favorable regard for the musical abilities of the remainder of the congregation. There is a common folk tale which tells the story of an "old New England deacon whose duty it was to line-out the hymn to be sung . . ."

> Upon one occasion, finding some difficulty, from failing sight, in reading the first line, he apologized by observing:-
> 'My eyes, indeed, are very blind.'
> The choir, who had been impatiently waiting for the whole line, thinking this to be the first of a common-metre hymn, immediately sang it; whereupon the deacon exclaimed with emphasis:-
> 'I cannot see at all.'
> This they also sang. Then the astonished deacon cried out.-
> 'I really believe you are bewitched!'
> On which the choir responded:-
> 'I really believe you are bewitched.'
> The deacon added:-
> 'The mischief's in you all!'
> The choir then finished the verse by echoing this last line, and the deacon sat down in despair.[58]

Foote attributes the end of the practice of lining-out to three influences: the "partial introduction of Watts' Psalms and Hymns" and the accompanying "outburst of popular singing" of the Great Awakening; the new styles, including fuging tunes, from England, which were not suitable for lining-out; and the introduction of choirs in the late eighteenth century in place of the precentor.[59] By 1800 the practice had virtually ended in New England, but Hood noted its existence for some time later in other sections of the country.

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[57] Quoted from Watts by Hood, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

[58] Related by Henry M. Brooks, Olden-Time Music: A Compilation from Newspapers and Books (Boston, 1888), pp. 21-22.

2. The Use of Instruments

Although tune-books and singing organizations were almost entirely devoted to vocal music, the place of instrumental music in church music deserves some attention, for occasionally tune-books do specify the use of instruments. Moreover, instruments were most certainly used in church services in the early nineteenth century despite earlier Puritan attitudes.

Musical instruments were not used in Congregational churches in New England during the seventeenth century. The Calvinist mode of worship transmitted through the English Puritans permitted only unaccompanied singing of psalmody. Arguments were plentifully supplied to sustain the prohibition of instruments. First, musical instruments were not mentioned in the New Testament, and the mention in the Old Testament was considered invalidated after the passing of the Old Law and the coming of Christ;[60] second, the use of instruments was a popish corruption which the Reformation had ended; thirdly, and perhaps most importantly if one is to believe the theoretical arguments of contemporary writers on the subject, instruments, because they could not "speak" words, were incapable of conveying concrete ideas and thus not suitable for sacred worship.

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[59] Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), in Appendix A, "The Controversy over the Practice of 'Lining-Out' the Psalms," pp. 379-380.

[60] See Sol Baruch Finesinger, Musical Instruments in the Old Testament (Baltimore, 1926).

> . . . sacred musick ought to be always connected with words, and adapted to their proper meaning; but so far as instrumental musick is heard, just so far it hurts instead of helping the sense of sacred musick, and, if carried to a certain degree, entirely destroys it. And when the sense of sacred musick is destroyed, it is no longer a devotional exercise, but a mere diversion or festival entertainment.[61]

Arguments in favor of the use of musical instruments contended that all things had been created by God and should be used to His glory and praise, just as they would be employed in the future kingdom; second, that although many instruments were currently being used for sensual merriment, their use should be sanctified to the church;

> . . . the design of both [vocal and instrumental music] is to produce agreeable and lively sensations within. We find that musick of some kind or other is agreeable to most people; and, on certain persons, it has a surprising operation. It charms, elevates and enraptures their souls . . . . and though vocal musick, when well performed, carries them almost into the regions of extacy, yet their satisfaction is increased when you blend with it that species which is termed instrumental.[62]

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[61] Nathaniel Emmons, A Discourse (Providence, 1806), p. 19.

[62] William Lyman, The Design and Benefits of Instrumental Musick (New London, 1807), p. 7.

third, and more practically, the instruments would be more reliable than the often problematic and sensitive singers. The organ, writes Lyman, would "be a constant and unvarying aid" and would not, "like the vocal singers, desert the seat assigned, through disgust, or from indifferency."[63]

The first general use of instruments in worship in New England seems to have occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century, with more numerous instances as the nineteenth century approached. The records are sparse since most instruments (other than pipe organs) were individually owned, and the church records note only those instruments owned or rented by the church.[64] There is a strong parallel between the use of instruments and the introduction of part-singing and choirs to the service. Singing in parts required a more exact placement of pitch; this made a pitch pipe a necessity and probably opened the way for supporting instruments. Thus the bass viol, which gave sustaining power and support to the pitch, was probably the first instrument to be played in most churches.[65] Small orchestral combinations followed, including bass viol, double bass, violins, and possibly a flute or clarinet.[66] Brass instruments were less used, except in the German communities. Johnson gives the earliest notice as that of the Congregational church in West Barnstable, Massachusetts, which voted in 1726 to adopt the new way of singing with notes and used instruments to accompany the singing.[67] Most churches in New England, however, waited until the 1780's or 1790's before the use of pitch pipe and instruments were permitted. The extent of the debate and controversy generated is generally well-described and not considered further in this study.

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[63] Ibid., p. 10.

[64] Dorothy Lenore Johnson, "The Use of Instruments in the Worship Service in New England Churches from Colonial Days to about 1850" (unpublished M.A. thesis, 1953), p. 62.

[65] Ibid., p. 72.

[66] Ibid., p. 74.

The pipe organ was adopted early by the Anglican churches[68] but did not come to use in the Congregational churches until the late eighteenth century. Providence had an organ in 1770, the First Church in Boston had an organ by 1787, and the Brattle Square church bought an organ in 1790. By the end of the period of this study (1820) all the major wealthy churches had organs, while relatively few of the small congregations in New England had afforded this large purchase.[69] It was not until the 1840's that most churches able to afford the instrument actually possessed an organ. During that time, various combinations of instruments, organs and singers prevailed in American church music.

A few tune-books noted that instruments should play certain parts and figured basses were included in some editions. In general, however, it was probably assumed that instruments, when used, would simply double the voice parts.

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[67] Ibid., p. 77.

[68] Brattle's organ eventually went to King's Chapel in 1713 after being rejected by the Brattle Street Congregational Church.

[69] Johnson, op. cit., p. 109. The cost was usually L300 to L500. Purchase was from English builders. Few churches in England or Scotland, for that matter, had organs by 1800. Percy Scholes, op. cit., p. 250.

3. Psalmody versus Hymnody

One of the most critical problems in the development of the tunebook's content was the shift from the use of psalmody to hymnody in religious worship. Psalmody, the singing of the scriptural psalms, and hymnody, the singing of original devotional poetry, have both been traditional musical forms employed in Christian worship. The suitability of each form to various modes of worship has changed, however, from time to time. During the Protestant Reformation, while the Lutherans embraced hymnody in the form of the chorale, the Calvinist reformers limited music in worship to metrical psalmody. The English reformers were primarily influenced by the Calvinist movement, and so psalmody became the principal musical form of the English church. This remained so from the publication of Sternhold & Hopkins *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* [Old Version] in 1562 until Watts' and Wesley's hymnbooks began to be used in the mid-eighteenth century. These hymnbooks were first accepted by dissenting Baptists and extra-official Methodist societies, rather than by the Church of England.

In New England *Sternhold and Hopkins* was supplanted by the *Ainsworth Psalter* (Amsterdam, 1612), brought from Leyden by the Pilgrims,[70] and by the Bay Psalm Book (1640), written and published in Boston.[71] This famous book ran to twenty seven editions in New England, the latest in 1762. In 1696 Tate and Brady's New Version of the Psalms was published in London to provide more acceptable metrical poetry for the Psalms, and was accepted in New England churches of the mid-eighteenth century.[72]

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[70] See Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Music of the Pilgrims* (Boston, 1921).

Isaac Watts' The Psalms of David Imitated (London, 1719), does what the title suggested: rather than closely paraphrasing the complete Psalms, Watts freely paraphrased the original Psalms, adding Christian meanings liberally. Watts' hymns were rapidly accepted by dissenting groups, gaining favor over the use of metrical psalmody. Although Isaac Watts had begun writing hymns in 1695, writing over 750 hymns in seven published works, his popularity in England did not spread immediately to America.[73]

George Whitefield's Hymns was immensely popular, while the Wesleys published 56 collections of hymns in the space of 53 years. Clearly the hymn was replacing the old metrical psalm. All of these began to spread to the colonies during and after the Great Awakening. In a struggle which persisted for much of the century, hymnody gradually began to oust psalmody in the church service. One of the side issues of the Presbyterian division was singing. Not until 1802 did the General Assembly authorize Dwight's Watts formally.[74] In 1790 the Protestant Episcopal church included a group of hymns in the new American Prayer Book, thirty years earlier than they were authorized by the English church.[75] By the early nineteenth century, however, most churches sang hymnody, using primarily Dwight's Watts or Worcester's Watts and Select.[76] The large majority of the tune-books, therefore, provided tunes which were adaptable to both psalms and hymns. Tune-books advertised tunes "suitable to all the metres in common use," or specified "suitable to the various Metres in Dr. Watts', Dr. Dwight's, Dr. Rippon's and the Methodist Hymn Books," etc. Tune-book compilers probably preferred Watts' hymns, for most of these were in common meter. Wesley's hymns were often of irregular meters, and although Particular Metre was adaptable to varied line lengths, the results were less than satisfactory. Later in the nineteenth century the metrically irregular hymnody of the romantics made the adoption of a proper tune, i.e., tune always used with the same hymn, virtually a necessity. Since the utility of the tune-book lay in its ability to provide a variety of tunes for a hymn, the rise of the proper tune rendered the tune-book inconvenient, and hastened the development of the denominational hymnal.

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[71] See Zoltan Haraszti, The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book (Chicago, 1956).

[72] King's Chapel approved its use in 1713.

[73] See Raymond Martin, "The Transition from Psalmody to Hymnody in Southern Presbyterianism, 1753-1901" (unpublished D.S.M. dissertation, 1963).

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[74] William J. Reynolds, A Survey of Christian Hymnody (New York, 1963), p. 88.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., p. 92.

4. Problems Related to Performance Practices

Several special problems relating to the matter of performance are outlined in the tune-books. These problems are generally practical ones affecting directly the performance of music in the church service. They include the arrangement of voice parts, the beating of time, tempo, the selection of the tune to be sung, manner of singing, ornamentation and chanting.

In the tune harmonizations of American composers before 1800 the normal arrangement was to have the bass as the lowest part, sung by men; the tenor or air next to the bass, sung by men; a counter written with a counter clef to be sung by low female voices; and a treble, to be sung by higher treble voices. This arrangement was challenged by some of the reformers, who pointed to the newer homophonic practice in Europe of giving the air to all treble voices— male and female. John Cole was explicit on the matter:

> As this work will doubtless fall into the hands of many amateurs, it may be necessary to mention the manner in which music is performed by the Cecelian Society.
>
> In all Cases the Air, or principal part, is performed by the Treble voices.
> The part, which by some is erroneously called the Treble, is performed by Tenor voices.
> The Counter-tenor is performed by men and boys; and the Bass as usual, by men.
> The Interludes are played on an Organ, with which the whole performance is accompanied.

> In this arrangement, which obtains in all regular performances in Europe, there is no unmeaning jumble of sounds; for the acuteness of the Treble voices renders the AIR predominant, and the music of course is intelligible, even to those unacquainted with the nature of harmony.[77]

Cole's reasons for this arrangement were explained in his Devotional Harmony (Baltimore, 1814).

> The propriety of giving the principal Air to treble voices is still disputed by some; but those who know anything of the general scale, or the analogy of sounds, know that it is right.

He goes on, quoting from the Monthly Anthology:

> 'The principal Air is the soul of the piece—it ought to be more distinctly heard . . . it ought to be placed in the most conspicuous station, and assigned to those voices which are naturally the most expressive of melody. The voices of women are one eighth higher than those of men; they are more flexible; and, consequently, more capable of the graces of music. Good treble voices exceed, on a moderate calculation, the number of good tenor voices in the proportion of twenty to one.'

He then noted an early instance of anti-feminism.

> '. . . the ancient practice of giving the Air to the tenor, and casting the treble voices into the shade, still prevails. Male performers resist the improvement with a zeal similar to that with which they would resist an invasion of their natural political rights—but they are contending against nature and against science, and the contest must finally be vain.'

Many other reformers called for essentially the same reform of voice parts. However, Ananias Davisson in The Kentucky Harmony (Harrisonburg, 1817) indicated that "the bass stave is assigned to the gravest voices of men; and the tenor to the highest. The counter to the lowest voices of Ladies, and the treble to the highest of Ladies voices." Apparently this old practice was perpetuated in the southern folk hymnals which came after Davisson. Davisson discontinued the use of the counter "cliff," a practice which prevails today.

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[77] John Cole, Sacred Music (Baltimore, 1803).

Another practice common to all singing schools and church choirs was the practice of having each singer beat time with his arm while singing. This was a pedagogical device which might well have been executed mentally, but which, in its physical execution, led to some considerable personal excesses. G.E. Blake, in Vocal Harmony (Philadelphia, 1810), said:

> Beating of time, is an artificial method of marking the movement of a musical air, is performed in various ways . . . . in performing vocal music alone, it is best to use the hand only . . . . For the sake of uniformity it is best for the whole choir to beat with the right hand.

Blake found it necessary to caution, "There should not be the least noise in beating of time, or in any other way, during the performance of music, as it has a direct tendency to destroy the musical sounds." Several tunebooks cautioned the affected use of the hand; The Kentucky Harmony advised young singers to be "very industrious in acquiring a graceful manner of beating time, and . . . not to contract any disagreeable habit, as they are hard to overcome, all distortion of the limbs or features while singing is very unbecoming, and should be avoided." Samuel Gilman, writing a number of years later, caricatured the entire practice, noting that while some merely tapped a finger at their side, others waved their hands like windmills.[78] All in all it must have been a lively choir stall.

As in many churches today, the choice of tempo was a controversial matter, with the older members of the congregation preferring the old American tunes which were sung rather broadly. Bartholemew Brown urged, on practical grounds, that "in order to facilitate the knowledge and performance of [the long pieces], where the Adagio or Largo time has been used, the Allegro is substituted." He immediately added, however, that "after passing through all the grades of improvement, men will at last come to admire the old slow church Music . . . ."[79] Amos Albee, in _The_ _Norfolk_ _Collection_ (Boston, 1805), also substituted Allegro tempo "for the Adagio . . . on the authority, and conformably to the practice of eminent musicians."

Samuel Gilman also recalled the practice of loudly pronouncing the name of the tune to be used to the choir just before singing it. This practice was commented upon in several tune-books, among them the collection for the Hollis Street Church in Boston, _Psalm_ _and_ _Hymn_ _Tunes_ (Boston, 1811) which advised:

> It will be found more convenient for the chorister, in naming tunes for performance, to designate them by their _numbers_ than by their _names_.

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[78] Samuel Gilman, _Memoirs_ _of_ _a_ _New_ _England_ _Village_ _Choir_ (Boston, 1829).

[79] _The_ _Columbian_ _and_ _European_ _Harmony_.

John Cole, ever the reformer, went even further in Songs of Zion (Baltimore, 1818).

> Leaders of Choirs will do well to write the number of the Tune to be sung, on a slate; this will prevent all unnecessary conversation, where all should be order and decorum.

A word should be added concerning the manner of singing, although this is an extensive subject to which tune-books devote much attention in the theoretical sections. Consistently recommended is soft singing and the use of broad vocal sounds, rather than the shrill, nasal sounds. The singing style of the period, both in England and the United States, presupposed that the performer would spontaneously add graces, or melodic ornamentation, to the written melody. Around 1700 the singing habits of English congregations were satirized as "vocal ladies that quavered and trilled an unreasonable time after the conclusion of the psalm."[80] By the late eighteenth century, however, the excessive addition of accents, shakes, turns and relishes had become less than fashionable in England. The reformers, who stressed simplicity and dignity in church music, urged caution in approaching ornamentation. The Village Harmony (Exeter, 1800) said:

> With regard to the Trills, Apagiatura [sic], Transitions, and other artificial graces in music, they must be acquired by a discerning judgment or imitation, and unless they can be well and judiciously introduced, ought ever to be omitted.

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[80] Hans Engelke, "A Study of Ornaments in American Tune-Books, 1760-1800," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, 1960), p. 67.

A Selection of Psalm Tunes (New York, 1812) commented that

> A person possessed of a good ear, a flexible voice, and a feeling heart . . . will unconsciously introduce graces into his performance. And more care should be taken to avoid the frequent use of what are commonly called graces, than to acquire facility in executing them . . .

The importance of ornamentation in the folk hymn has been illustrated dramatically by Jackson in his much quoted example of "Amazing Grace."[81] Singing very slowly, the folk add many portamenti and appoggiaturas in a style which must be a survival of the manner of singing which prevailed in seventeenth and eighteenth century New England.

Chanting is not commonly associated with the tune-book, but a number of tune-books did include a few chants, often in an appendix. The use of chants has been traditionally connected with the liturgical churches. The Episcopal church used psalm tunes just as the Congregational church used them. But toward the end of the eighteenth century they began to introduce chanting as it was done in England. St. Michael's Church in Marblehead, Massachusetts is reputed to have had the first chanting in this country. The Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver said in a letter of December 24, 1787

> As tomorrow is Christmas, we intend to introduce chanting into our church . . . .
> It was done . . . before a very crowded audience of churchmen and Dissenters, and to general acceptance.[82]

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[81] George Pullen Jackson, Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America (New York, 1953), p. 153.

[82] Brooks, op. cit., p. 78.

To fill the need for chants for the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches, a number of tune-books were published containing chants or an appendix of service music. George K. Jackson said in The Choral Companion (1817):

> It has ever been characteristic of the Protestant Episcopal Church to worship in the use of set forms of prayer; and the same church has uniformly discovered a particular and decided attachment to those melodies which are denominated chants; for this very obvious reason, that they contain a theme of praise more universal, and better adapted for general use, than Anthems, or Psalms in Metre.

Benjamin Carr's Collection of Chants & Tunes (1816) contained, in addition to 34 psalm tunes, a Venite, Gloria, Te Deum, Jubilate Deo, Doxology and several other pieces of service music. John Cole and Thomas Hastings also included service music in some of their publications. William Smith's Churchman's Choral Companion (1809), dedicated to the "Right Reverend Benjamin Moore, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of N. Y." noted in his preface:

> this work is designed to furnish the Protestant Episcopal churches in the United States with a form of services in prose, and is so adapted as to hold a medium between the voluminous and difficult service of the Cathedral, and that which is unadorned and merely parochial.

By including chants or service music, the tune-book was able to adapt its role to the special needs of the various churches. In so doing, it prepared the way for the denominational hymnal.

As can be realized from the foregoing, changing modes of thought about each of the special problems discussed above, i.e., lining-out, the use of instruments, psalmody versus hymnody, and various performance customs, were reflected in the tune-books of the period. The role of the tune-book changed or adapted in regard to each of these problems, and often directed the forces of change by defining and influencing new positions. Many of these problems are related to basic changes in the state of musical taste, an underlying force which is discussed more extensively in Chapter V.

D. THE ROLE OF THE TUNE-BOOK IN SINGING ORGANIZATIONS, IN THE COMMUNITY, AND IN THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

1. The Tune-book and the Singing School

Several of the roles of the tune-book, particularly the religious and educational roles, have already been explored, directly or indirectly. The tune-book, however, also became involved, by virtue of its intimate association, in certain of the social and operational aspects of the singing school. Like the religious and educational aspects, these aspects required certain corresponding roles of the tune-book; while these aspects were primarily connected with the institution itself, they nonetheless affected the tune-book and its use. The following section therefore, explores these social and operational roles of the tune-book, by examining organizational aspects of the singing school.

The singing school movement, extensive as it was, left relatively few institutional records. Occasionally a set of minutes appears, or a constitution for the membership. More often, however, the brief mention of a singing school in a diary, the advertisement which appeared from time to time in the local newspapers, and the publication of tune-books by tunesmiths are the best sources of information. Through these sources several outstanding accounts of the singing school have been written and it is possible to gain a fairly accurate picture of the principal institution in which the tune-book was used.

The formation of a singing school took place under several somewhat different but related circumstances: the privately conducted school offered by an itinerant singing master; the singing school organized by a single church for the improvement of the choral music of its service; and the community singing school, organized either by several churches on an interdenominational basis, or by a musical organization not connected with the church at all.

When a traveling music master entered a particular area, teaching singing schools in several adjacent towns, he usually inserted an advertisement in the local newspaper. Such advertisements remain the best source of information on schools directed by itinerant masters.

> MUSIC SCHOOL
>
> William Kenny proposes to open a Singing School in the eastern part of the Town: He teaches vocal music only. He teaches Psalmody. Such persons as will send their children may depend on his attention. - They who wish further information may have directions at this office.
>
> Dec. 6, [1802], [Salem][83]

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[83] Quoted by Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Such advertisements were sprinkled sparingly in the newspapers of the major cities of federal America. The most successful masters had sufficient musical fame or reputation to attract, quite on their own, large numbers of students. Samuel Holyoke was one of the best known.

> SINGING SCHOOL
>
> The subscriber proposes to open a Singing School, on Tuesday evening next, at the room formerly occupied by Dr. Biglow, provided thirty names are obtained. The terms for instruction, one evening per week, for three months, will be one dollar and fifty cents; or if two evenings per week are desired, the terms will be two dollars each scholar. Those who are disposed to attend said School are desired to leave their names at either of the following places, viz. Mr. Gilbert Chadwick's, Mr. Josiah Caldwell's, Messrs. Cushing and Appleton's, or Mr. B. B. Macanulty's Bookstore, at which places subscription papers will be lodged. N. B. The number of Scholars is not limited to thirty.
>
> March 22, /1805, Salem/ S. HOLYOKE[84]

The subscription method was usually employed to guarantee the master a satisfactory sum for his efforts. This method involved the circulation of a paper[85] to engage persons who, by signing, promised to provide the required sum to attend the school.

The second circumstance of organization, sponsorship by a church, was probably the most frequent method by which the singing school was organized. In such cases, an individual—possibly the minister, or a group—usually the choir, decided to contract a singing master to teach for a specified period of time, usually three months. Again, the subscription method was employed to raise a sufficient sum for the singing master, but, unlike the fixed fee of the independent master, the amount of money to be subscribed was voluntary and subject to individual ability to pay. Moreover, the subscription could be filled by interested members of a church whether they participated in the school themselves or not. Nathaniel Gould, whose strong prejudices against the singing school are difficult to ignore,[86] described the subscription process as follows:[87]

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[84] Ibid.

[85] Buechner, op. cit., pp. 188-189, quotes a complete subscription paper circulated through the parish at Dorset, Vt., from Zephine Humphrey, The Story of Dorset (Rutland, 1924), pp. 102-104.

> SUBSCRIBERS FOR A SCHOOL
>
> The paper is presented to some one who has means and influence, and is, of course, a lover of music. He reads, hesitates, and then says, "I desire to have good singing, and should be willing to pay for its promotion, were it not that singers, after they have learned, will not keep together in church, and money seems to be lost." He is told, perhaps, that none would be permitted to attend but such as would obligate themselves to sing in church. He subscribes. He then, perhaps, goes, with cautious steps, to the clergyman, who as cautiously remarks, "I feel the effects of bad singing, and the importance of that part of worship being performed acceptably, to prevent the people from leaving the church; but singers are so sensitive that I wish to avoid any interference with their doings." But, after being reminded of the importance of hav-

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[86] Nathaniel D. Gould, Church Music in America (Boston, 1853), pp. 78-81. Gould said, "It is not for us to define the motives which usually led to the formation of singing-schools. We are aware that classing them with amusements seems rather extravagant; but we have reason to fear, from the kind of music practised, and the demeanor at the schools, that they could be considered as little else."

[87] Ibid., pp. 79-81.

> ing his name to the paper, by way of example, he subscribes. The paper is then presented to the officers of the church. They, with one consent, begin to make excuses; the most prominent one, perhaps, is, that they had been giving all their lifetime, and singing was no better, but rather worse; and they are discouraged. But, as the minister has subscribed, they will give something. He then meets with a wealthy individual, who "cares for none of these things." He speaks out, what perhaps others thought, namely, that "if any one wishes to learn to sing, let him pay for it. What use will it be to me? Neither I nor my family can sing. If I could sing, I would not go about begging for others to pay my tuition." Another says, "he has no inclination to encourage a parcel of giddy young folks to sit in the gallery to show off their skill, which is apparently all they care for,—singing over tunes that are more like dancing than psalm tunes. I had rather they would sing as they did in good old times, when one man got up and 'raised the tune,' in a pew below, and all joined in singing as well as they could." He now commences soliciting the aid of the "old singers," and those intending to learn. One of the former says he can learn tunes without going to school, and that he has paid his share heretofore. Besides, if he has been leader of the choir, he secretly thinks he ought to be employed as teacher, of which he is not sure. Another, that he has learned already, and if he gives his time to promote singing, that is his part. Another, who understands the usual manoeuvres of new-organized choirs,—to clear out the old singers from the choir,—refuses to patronize a new school. Another, that they have no need of a school,—that they sing well enough now. Those who intend to be benefited by the school subscribe more or less, but are not to be compelled to pay, unless they succeed in learning. Altogether there appears to be a sum subscribed sufficient to authorize preparations for a school. A meeting is called for the subscribers to make preparations for a school.

Following are some of the records regarding singing schools at the First Baptist Church in Providence, R.I.[88]

> 13 January 1807. Voted. That William Holroyd, John Whipple and Nathan Waterman, Jr. be a Committee to contract with a Suitable person or persons to Teach a Singing School in the Baptist Society, and that they form a subscription to be presented

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[88] William Dinneen, Music at the Meeting House, 1775-1958 (Providence, 1958), pp. 4-5.

> to the members of the Church & Society at large to defray the expense thereof and that they have the Superintendance and direction of the School when formed.
>
> 11 October 1808. Voted. That a singing school be kept in the Vestry of the meeting house the coming winter & that the same be under the direction and supervision of the messrs. Samuel Eddy and Nathan Waterman, Jr. who are hereby appointed a committee for that purpose and authorized to provide a suitable Master.
>
> 11 September 1809. Voted. That the Baptist Musick Society be permitted to use the candles furnished for the Society.
>
> [Dec. 14, 1818] that Mr. John Hill be a committee to raise, by subscription the sum of one hundred Dollars, for the purpose of paying Mr. William Aplin for his service, in part, as singing master, and also the arrearages incurred by last year's Singing School.

Records indicate a number of arrangements for the provision of a rehearsal place, wood for heat and candles for light. Churches often purchased the tune-books for the students although, according to Gilman,[89] a single book was sometimes shared with four or five other singers.

The third circumstance was the organization of a singing school by a town or musical society for the purpose of improving singing as part of the public school education, or for the performance of larger choral works in public concerts. Samuel Holyoke placed the following advertisement in the Salem Gazette (September 17, 1808), calling on singers to produce a concert:

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[89] Samuel Gilman, *op. cit.*

> He most respectfully requests the assistance of the Ladies and Gentlemen who performed at his past concert. He would have waited on the musical performers individually had it been in his power . . .[90]

Buechner provides a listing of "Town-supported Singing Schools in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 1788-1831."[91] The list contains about fifty instances of singing schools gleaned from various local and town records or histories. In many of these, the town and the Congregational or Baptist church co-operated closely, inasmuch as the churches continued to be prominent legally in the making of town policies until the 1830's in some areas.

These three basic circumstances for the establishment of a singing school were by no means mutually exclusive. Frequently a town was pleased to assist a singing master by providing a place for his school, although he might be operating independently of a town or church contract. The realization of benefit to the young people of the town justified this co-operation. Below is a case of such efforts at co-operation, taken from the Sudbury, Massachusetts Town records.[92]

> 16th. To see if the Town will grant a Suitable Sum of Money for the further Encouragement of hiring a Master to teach a Singing School in said Town the present year Agreeable to the request of Lt. Hopestill Willis . . .

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[90] Brooks, op. cit., p. 227.

[91] Buechner, op. cit., pp. 196-197.

[92] Quoted from Manuscript records cited by Buechner, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

> 17th. To see if the Town will give liberty to their Singing Society to Occupy the several School Houses in said Town during the term of time they shall have a Singing School in said Town the present fall . . .

The actual organizational structure of the singing school varied from place to place, but usually embodied considerable emphasis on the well established democratic processes of self-government. William Billings well-known "Rules for regulating a Singing School," printed in his Singing Master's Assistant (Boston, 1778), required that all members of the school sign the articles requiring punctual attendance, under penalty of fine, conformity to the master's judgment with regard to voice placement, and certain standards of behaviour. Billings said, "I enjoin you to refrain from all levity, both in conduct and conversation, while singing sacred words." The articles ranged from simple rules for the maintenance of order in the case of the church operated or privately conducted singing schools, to elaborate and highly democratic documents for the larger musical societies. These societies were, of course, self-sustaining, and the membership consisted of adult musicians and professional people, whereas the local singing schools enrolled primarily young people. The Constitution of the Pittsburgh Musical Society of 1818 began with the Preamble

> The Persons whose names are hereto affixed having resolved to organize themselves into a Society for practiseing Music do hereby appropriate to their institution the name of The Pittsburgh Musical Society, and for the Government of the same they agree to adopt the following rules and laws; to wit . . .[93]

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[93] Edward Gladstone Baynham, "The Early Development of Music in Pittsburgh" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1944), p. 318; quoted from William Evens, Scrapbook, II, Mss. in the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

The problem of financing the singing school was solved, as indicated earlier, through the subscription. Churches sometimes laid a poll on the estates of members to support the music. In the case of a town school, the cost was appropriated by the town government. About one-third of the Massachusetts towns underwrote the cost of singing schools in this way.[94] The survey conducted by Buechner[95] indicates a range from about $10 to $150 for a series of singing lessons, with the average amount appropriated about $40 to $60. In general the lower amounts occurred in those schools conducted before 1800, while the amounts in excess of $100 all occur after 1820. The number of sessions held probably ranged from 12 to 24, depending on whether one or two sessions per week were held. The average size of a singing school is difficult to determine, although several advertisements do make mention of size.

> NOTICE
>
> A suitable room having been conditionally engaged by the subscriber, he proposes to open a SINGING SCHOOL, in this town for the term of three months provided sixty names can be obtained. The times for meeting to be in each week, on Thursday and Friday evening. The price to each scholar to be Two Dollars. The expenses of room, wood, candles, &c to be defrayed by the scholars.
>
> S. HOLYOKE
>
> N. B. The number of scholars is not limited to sixty, but all who wish to attend from the several societies may have an oppor-

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[94] Buechner, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

> tunity by sending their names to Cushing and Appleton's Bookstore or to the store of Messrs. S. and J. Peabody.[96]

Another school taught by the same master was advertised in 1805 with a requirement of thirty names.[97] The costs are listed as two dollars per scholar for two meetings weekly for a period of three months. Assuming a total of fifty scholars in a given school, the proceeds to the master would be $100 for the three month period, exclusive of any sales of his own tune-books, or proceeds from singing schools which he might be conducting concurrently in surrounding towns. Holyoke, however, was a fairly well-known and successful singing master; other masters were perhaps not so fortunate. Nevertheless, a general estimate of fifty scholars seems supportable, although the entire group probably did not meet at the same time. Provision was normally promised that persons with varying degrees of accomplishment could enroll in special sections or classes. Other masters charged less for their services, but enrolled more scholars. William Evens, in Pittsburgh, recorded in his notes,

> Jan. 1812 71 Schollars, do. in October, 1812
> 59 Schollars, do., January 7, 1813
> 70 Schollars, $1.50 each schollar each school
> 1813 organized a small choir in the Rev. Thomas Hunt's Congregation in the Old Carpenter's Shop at the head of Diamond Alley, Sept. 13, 1813 - 72 schollars at $1.50 per schollar.[98]

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[96] Buechner, op. cit., as quoted from the Salem Gazette, Vol. XVII, No. 128 (Dec. 6, 1803).

[97] Ibid., p. 184, as quoted from the Salem Gazette, Vol. XIX, No. 1419 (April 2, 1805).

[98] Baynham, op. cit., p. 39.

The income from these endeavors would approximate the $100 earned by Holyoke in Salem. The attendance figures agree reasonably well with the figures suggested above for the town-sponsored schools. It should be remembered, however, that while the town usually provided a place to conduct the school, often the school house or church vestry, the singing master who sponsored a school privately had to provide the location at his own expense. Also of considerable importance, based on the frequent mention in the sources, were the costs incurred for fuel to heat the building and candles for light. One popular arrangement which apparently was made available to the singing master at little or no cost was the use of a room at the town tavern. The tavern was a center for many social gatherings in a New England town, and any such gathering as a meeting or singing school usually made the effort well worth while for the tavern keeper through the post-meeting indulgences of those in attendance.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, few churches had pipe organs, and the musical services were often provided by a deacon at no charge. Singing schools brought occasional injections of new vigor to the singing, usually once in two or three years. The influence of the reformers, however, was to bring about an increased concern for the musical portion of the church service, and to make increasingly necessary the appointment of permanent persons with professional musical ability. This was especially true in the larger cities where concern for the "best" musical taste was highly regarded. The rural villages, especially in the more remote areas, continued to use volunteer help and responded, consequently, more slowly to changes in musical style; these villages maintained their affections for the older native American style.

All of the above factors affected the tune-book and its use. For example, the choice of tune-book to be used by a given school depended on whether the singing school was administered under the auspices of a local church or offered privately by an itinerant music master. Itinerants often peddled tune-books of their own design, the content of which was not as broadly representative of the current psalm tune repertoire as might be found in the more established, widely circulated tune-books. Moreover, the manner in which a singing school was financed often determined whether the student would use a "four-penny gamut" or a more costly common tune-book. Compilers, not unaware of the differing needs of the various groups, and with one eye on the marketplace, often adapted their tune-books accordingly.

The number of tune-books used is difficult to estimate, but if one tune-book was assigned to every three scholars, twenty to thirty copies would have been required for some of the singing schools noted in this section. Assuming that a considerable number of singing schools were held simultaneously in a given number of towns, one can readily understand why the bibliography of tune-books is so extensive.

Finally the kind of musical appointment and the salary paid by a church or singing school were related to the musical taste found in the tune-books they used. These factors are, however, involved with the aesthetic role of the tune-book which is discussed further in Chapter V.

2. The Tune-book in the Community

The role of the tune-book in the community is revealed, in part, by an examination of the communities which used the tune-book, the social status held by the people who bought the books, and the denominations for which the tune-books were intended. The answers to these questions are somewhat difficult to answer fully, but partial answers are suggested in the subscription lists which were published in a limited number of tune-book editions. Such lists indicated the name of a person or society who reserved a copy of a new tune-book, the number of copies ordered, the town or community in which that person lived, and, occasionally, occupation, sex and title. An attempt was made to obtain further information concerning each name listed by exploring genealogies, town histories, and city directories. Unfortunately this exploration was not particularly rewarding and has been postponed for some future research on the problem. The information gained from the subscription lists, however, is quite adequate for a reasonable evaluation of the problems posed above.

The first question as to which communities used tune-books is answered by the appearance on the subscription lists of a very large number of smaller towns and villages which do not appear on the list of cities of publication. While printing and publishing was restricted to relatively few cities where a font of musical type was available, the circulation of tune-books reached the smallest of the surrounding villages. These lists thus indicate much more about the actual circulation of the tune-book than do the title pages. It is through these lists that we know of the circulation of the tune-book to such cities in the West as "Buffaloe, N. Y.," "Warren (Ohio),"[99] and in the South as Charleston, Richmond, Lynchburg, Charlotteville, Petersburg, Hillsbord, N.C., Fayetteville, Orange, N.C., Alexandria, Georgetown, Washington and New Orleans. Thus, although the publication of tune-books was limited in area, their circulation can be considered as reaching most parts of the nation.

As New England was the home of the tune-book, the circulation of tune-books within that area is especially widespread, extending to all the villages of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont. Figure XXIII shows the distribution pattern of five New England tune-books.

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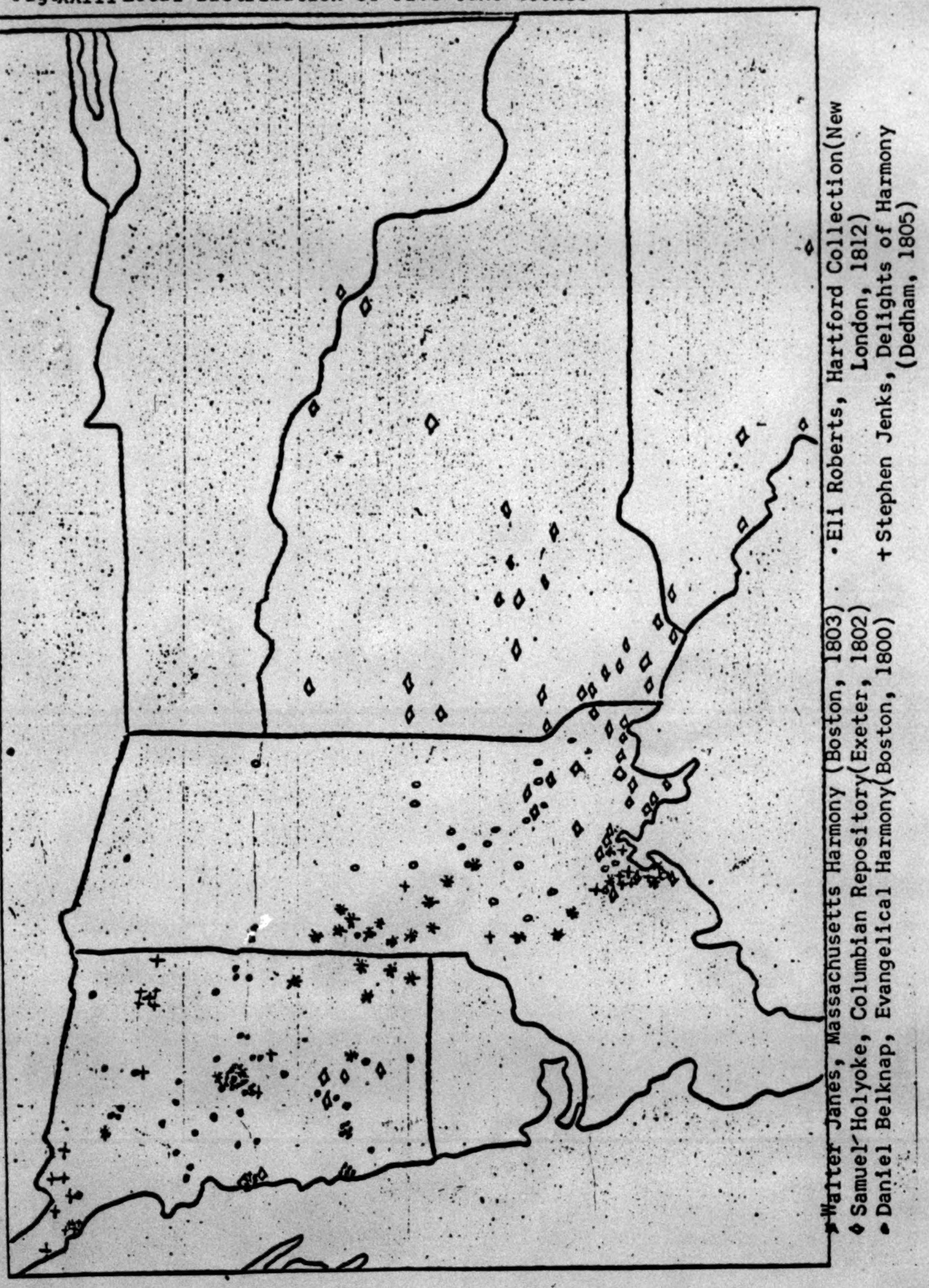
[99] 1812.

Fig.XXIII Local Distribution of Five Tune-books.


* Walter Janes, Massachusetts Harmony (Boston, 1803)
◊ Samuel Holyoke, Columbian Repository (Exeter, 1802)
• Daniel Belknap, Evangelical Harmony (Boston, 1800)
· Eli Roberts, Hartford Collection (New London, 1812)
+ Stephen Jenks, Delights of Harmony (Dedham, 1805)

The second question asks what people bought tune-books. The answer cannot be neatly assigned to one class of people or another, children or adults, males or females. All of these appear on the subscription lists. The patterns which do emerge are as follows:

First. A large number of copies were subscribed by book dealers in the various cities. Oliver Goodwin of Litchfield took 200 copies, Beers & Howe of New Haven took 250, Samuel Green of New Haven 24 and Russell Hubbard of Norwich 50 of Eli Roberts Hartford Collection (1812).[100] That accounts for about one-half of the total subscription of 1010 copies. Stephen Jenks Delights of Harmony (1805) indicated subscriptions by Isaac Sherwood, Oxford, N. Y. (100 copies), Herman Mann (50), and John C. Riley, Winchester (100). A. March of Newburyport subscribed 200 copies of Holyoke's Columbian Repository. These numbers represent rather substantial quantities of books and are indicative of the probable expected sale of given tune-books.

Second. Musicians, choirs and societies account for a considerable number of subscriptions. Each list contains one or more names of musicians, especially singing masters, who were active at the time. Dyer's New Selection (1817) was subscribed, for example, by Andrew Adgate,[101] J. and T. Carr, John Cole, Samuel Cole, Emmanuel Kent, C. Meinecke,

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[100] A list of some tune-books containing subscription lists is found in Chapter III.

[101] It is not clear how Adgate's name appeared on this list since he died in 1793. Moreover, Metcalf indicates that the widow Adgate and her two children also perished in 1793. American Writers (New York, 1925), p. 31.

John Jenkins Husband, Thomas Loud, William Bull, Uri K. Hill, Thaddeus Seymour, John Armstrong, William Evens and Charles Southgate. Since many of these persons compiled tune-books themselves, the interchange of content apparently was effected by examining other tune-books. The New Selection was also subscribed by the choir of the Baptist church (12), the choirs of the Methodist church (20), and the Union Singing Society of Georgetown (24). John Cole's Sacred Music (Baltimore, 1802) was published for the Cecelian Society, which included the 50 members of two church choirs, St. Paul's and Christ church. These names constituted the entire subscription for the book. Many of the tune-books compiled by John Cole or Benjamin Carr were intended for specific liturgical choirs as found in the Episcopal or Roman Catholic churches.

Third. Clergy are listed as having purchased copies on most subscription lists. Frequently the list was quite long and included some of the better known clergymen of the day. Holyoke's Columbian Repository (Exeter, 1802) went to the reverends Thomas Prince, Daniel Dana, Thomas Noyes, Stephen Palmer, Ezra Ripley, Gilbert Williams, Asa McFarland, Stephen Peabody, Abiel Abbott, David Avery and Joshua Cushman.

Fourth. The names of professional persons, including lawyers, military and seafaring men, college graduates and students, and distinguished foreign residents appear on the subscription lists. Lawyers', judges' and doctors' names appear frequently, sometimes with orders for more than one copy. Other names bear military titles such as Captain, Lieutenant or Colonel. These may refer to veterans of the Revolutionary period. A few copies are listed for people with A. B. following their names, and students, or student societies such as those at Yale College or Dartmouth, account for still more copies. Carr's Masses, Vespers, Litanies (Baltimore, 1805) included the Marquis de Casa Yruso, Envoy Extraordinary & Minister plenipotentiary from Spain, Rev. W. DuBourg, President of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, the Consul from Portugal, persons from Edinboro', Bristol, London and Liverpool, and several counts and madames. This beautifully engraved volume, by no co-incidence, was also the most expensive tune-book in the bibliography.

Fifth. Common persons without title account for a large proportion of the remaining names on the subscription lists. Very few names of women appear on the lists, although it is likely that copies were listed under the name of a father or husband.

These lists indicate, therefore, no clear patterns of use by status or title. They were purchased by persons of all levels, assuming only the price of purchase. As would be expected, however, the names of books dealers, musicians and clergymen appear with great frequency, and are often listed as subscribing for more than a single copy.

The last question is concerned with denominational use of tune-books, some tune-books, perhaps 10 to 15 per cent of those published, were designed specifically for the use of certain denominations. They do not necessarily contain a subscription list, but most copies probably were purchased by persons affiliated with those denominations. Some were published by and for the use of a single congregation, while others were advertised as being for the denomination as a whole. Episcopalians had the largest number of individual publications, although many of the Episcopal books are not of the common tune-book variety. The Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian and Baptist volumes are nearly all common tune-books. Most of the German-speaking tune-books are hymnals with some music. Figure XXIV shows the number of tune-books in the bibliography specifically designated or implied as intended for the use of a particular denomination. The large majority of tune-books, however, were for the use of all religious bodies.

Fig. XXIV Tune-books by Denomination

Denomination	Number	Number in Sample
Methodist	9	4
Congregational	7	2
Episcopal	16*	1
Presbyterian	2	1
Baptist	1	1
Dutch Reformed	1	0
Lutheran	1	0
German Reformed	1**	0
Mennonite	6**	0

*Most are not common tune-books
**Not common tune-books

3. The Tune-book and the Second Great Awakening

The so-called "Second Great Awakening," which spread throughout most of the settled areas of the United States, coincided in time almost exactly with the twenty-year period of the present study of the tune-book. A revival at Hampden-Sydney and Washington colleges in 1787 resulted in a number of young enthusiastic ministers entering the newly opened western areas. By 1800 their activities produced the camp meeting revivals which, under the leadership of such men as James McGready and Barton Stone in the West and Timothy Dwight in the East, soon had covered Kentucky and Tennessee and travelled back to Virginia, western Pennsylvania and New York State. 1800 was called the year of 'the great revival' in sections of New York state. The revivals were usually held as outdoor camp meetings in the West, and were inter-denominational. Preachers were invited from all churches, but the most active denominations in the revivals were the Methodists, Presbyterians (particularly the schismatic groups) and Baptists. These revivals had an astounding influence on church membership, with gains of thousands of members each for the Methodist and Baptist churches in the first years of the nineteenth century. By 1805, however, the conservative Presbyterians had come to oppose the camp meeting revival, and the rapidly growing Methodists became the main proponents of the system. Thus, in contrast to the Congregational Calvinist "Awakening" of the 1740's, the Second Awakening was largely "Arminian" and Methodist.[102]

Singing of hymns was always an important part of the worship of Methodists, and the Baptists had been among the first to admit the singing of the hymns of Isaac Watts to formal worship. Thus it is only natural to assume that singing became an important part of the camp meeting tradition.

In spite of this singing activity, however, the tune-book played a limited role in the Awakening, and its tunes were largely rejected or altered in favor of a new form of singing. Don Yoder notes that each of the three revivals before the Civil War produced "hymnodic revolutions." The colonial Great Awakening had seen the rise of hymnody, especially among the Baptists, who spread this form throughout the colonies. The Second Great Awakening saw the creation of the camp-meeting spiritual. This form came about through "the addition of the chorus to the Evangelical hymntexts," and the "use of folk and popular melodies rather than antiquated psalm-tunes and chorales of New England and the Middle colonies. . . ."[103] Thus in the revivals, "hymnbooks were discarded" since, as Yoder points out, "many of the frontiersmen were illiterate" and "it was difficult to read the words of a hymn . . . at a night session . . . or when one had one's arms around a fellow 'mourner'."[104] The hymn patterns and choruses were easily memorized, and the simple music did not require the apparatus of the singing school in order to be learned.

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[102] W. W. Sweet, Revivalism in America (New York, 1944), pp. 119-134.

[103] Don Yoder, Pennsylvania Spirituals (Lancaster, 1961), pp. 4-5.

[104] Ibid., p. 6.

The traditional roles of the tune-book simply did not fulfill the requirements of the revivals. The tune-book traditionally carried metrical psalms and, later, hymns—none of these generally used in the revivals.

The traditional educational role could not function effectively in the relatively unstructured institutions of the semi-literate folk with loose or recent denominational connections. The tune-book had been conceived to support the education of the youth of New England so that "regular singing" might be restored to common practice. It was supported by the educated clergy and is an indication of the importance which was attached to learning in New England. Since the revivals did not, at least at the outset, emphasize either an educated clergy or the values of schooling, the educational role of the tune-book was of no particular value.

Its religious, liturgical role, institutionalized in the church choir, was equally useless, since revivals did not have a definite liturgical structure, let alone an established, trained choir.

The tune-book played a social role in New England, giving opportunity for the youth to meet socially. But no such device was needed in the revival country, for in the open folk society contacts were much simplified and less supervised, and the camp meeting itself provided a source of social contact.

Finally its role as a force in the improvement and spread of musical taste was completely nullified in revivalist regions by the sheer weight of the camp meeting spirituals and folk hymns which were sung to the near exclusion of the staid, old tunes advocated by the urban reformers.

The Young Convert's Companion (Boston, 1806) is a variant hymnal-tune-book listed in the bibliography, which was used in the Awakening. It is rather reserved in tone, however, compared to the western spiritual hymnbooks. Intended "for the use of Conference Meetings," it noted that

> At this time meetings for religious conversation and social private worship are more numerous and frequent than in any preceding age of the church. Personal religion has become an important consideration.

This little hymnal, conservative though it might have been, is included because it contained 18 short tunes in its Appendix.

Much more suitable, however, were such tuneless hymn collections as The Pilgrim Songster (1810), which saw over 10,000 copies in three western editions,[105] or Village Hymns (1824). None of these are found in the current bibliography.

Official Methodism continued to authorize hymnals which contained the hymnody of Charles Wesley, Isaac Watts and other English writers, but increasingly the unofficial "camp meeting songsters" spawned rapidly throughout the western and southern parts of the country.[106] Tune-books were issued by James Evans, Emmanuel Kent, Henry Little and Charles Woodward to fulfill the need for more varied metres to match the irregular metrical patterns of the English evangelical hymns, and were apparently successful in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, where most were printed. The 1811 edition of Evans' David's Companion, or, The Methodist Standard was "designed for the use of Methodists throughout the United States." An introduction by an official of the Methodist General Conference recommended the volume to all its societies and congregations. In the Preface Evans noted,

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[105] B. St. James Fry, "The Early Camp-Meeting Song Writers," Methodist Quarterly Review, XLI (1859), pp. 401-413.

[106] Yoder, op. cit., p. 6.

> Our Bishops recommend the reading of the Discipline, next to the Holy Scriptures; discipline being the cord that binds us together, which if allowed to slacken, we shall dwindle away and die. Let us then regard every part of our code; not be zealous for one part and neglect another, for this is the way to pull down what our Fathers have for so many years been building up. Let us read then the section in our discipline upon singing, page 45. It is there to be seen that the Methodists, from the beginning, have had a book of tunes peculiarly suited to their Hymns and Congregations.

This statement seems symptomatic of the problems facing the Methodists as well as the Presbyterians in meeting and understanding the needs of the rural folk in America. The tune-book, while it occasionally included folk hymns, particularly in the western area, was not primarily a folk form in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. For that reason it did not play an important role in the Second Great Awakening. After 1820, when the tune-book adapted its role to become an instrument of folk hymnody in the southern

Appalachian regions, it did unquestionably become an instrument of revival. This development has been treated extensively by George Pullen Jackson.

In short, the role of the tune-book was bound so completely to institutional forms, such as singing schools, church choirs and musical societies, that it could not flourish in the relatively unstructured surroundings which marked the Second Great Awakening. The tune-book's most important functional roles were institutional; only in the important area of musical taste did it move beyond institutional boundaries and even then indirectly.

CHAPTER V

THE AESTHETIC ROLE OF THE TUNE-BOOK

> The progress of society in America has been distinguished by several peculiarities that do not so properly belong to the more regular and methodical advances of civilization in other parts of the world. On the one hand, the arts of life, like Minerva, who was struck out of the intellectual being of her father at a blow, have started full-grown into existence, as the legitimate inheritance of the colonists, while on the other, everything tends toward settling down into a medium, as regards quality, a consequence of the community-character of the institutions.
>
> Home As Found
> Chapter XI
>
> James Fenimore Cooper

A. INTRODUCTION

Most of the tune-book's roles can be best defined as what I have termed institutional roles. The most significant role of the tune-book, however, moves beyond the confines of this institutional boundary. The present chapter is a study of the tune-book's role in a sensitive and difficult to measure area of change: the area of musical taste. Since taste is believed to interact with the tune-book and the individual according to several variables, the role of the tune-book must be defined by the particular sociological situation, as well as the artifact itself. Whether the tune-book determines the taste of the area, or the area ordains the taste of the tune-book is somewhat academic. Much more at stake is a major thesis that the American tune-book played a major role, active or formative, and passive or reflective, in the development, dissemination and metamorphosis of American tastes in sacred music. A basic assumption is that this role can be defined in relation to the classification of tunes represented in the content of the tune-book as described in Chapter III. This assumption is tested comparatively against the list of most popular tunes, using such variables as chronological period, geographical region, proximity to urban centers, and religious denomination.

The first section is devoted to an analysis of the reform movement, already discussed from the viewpoint of clergymen in Chapter II. Examination of the arguments as presented in the tune-books and compilers is presented here, followed by an illustration of changing musical tastes in three tune-books which were printed in multiple editions throughout the period of the study. The second section examines the role of the tune-book in defining the musical tastes of a moving population. Each geographical region is studied closely, and statistical evidence is presented showing clear patterns of variation and change in musical taste.

Important to remember throughout this study of taste is the personal element: the sociological study reveals collective attitudes and movements brought about through deep feelings and dedicated involvement on the part of concerned individuals. Personal preferences, however, are seldom rational and consequently difficult to measure. Abstract groups, or units, while not the actors in formulating taste, are necessary for this study; they are possible because individuals share common prejudices and inculcate these prejudices in their progeny.

B. THE TUNE-BOOK AND THE FORM OF AMERICAN CHURCH MUSIC

The period 1800-1820 was a transitional period for American sacred music; it was a time during which new criteria for judging artistic quality were introduced by musicians influenced by European standards. During the process of acculturation, these European standards came into conflict with the conservative native preferences of the American consumer, resulting in a kind of artistic tension, resolved only after considerable controversy between musicians and clergymen who sought to promote European musical styles, and local or itinerant tunesmiths and the choirs and congregations under their influence, who sought to preserve the native American styles. The cross-currents of this tension can be seen in the tune-book, which played a major role in defining artistic positions.

1. The Controversy

The note for reform was struck at the close of the eighteenth century. Issued with a new and comprehensive set of "theoretical observations" based on seven distinguished European textbooks,[1] *The Massachusetts Compiler* (Boston, 1795) by Hans Gram, Samuel Holyoke and Oliver Holden, introduced a more learned approach to the problems of musical composition. It initiated a reform in theoretical knowledge about the same time as the Wesleyan musical currents in England began to become influential in New England. Collections by Martin Madan, Thomas Butts, the Wesleys, James Leach and John Rippon, among others, which included a greater proportion of older fifteenth and sixteenth century tunes in a more "chaste" style, came into the hands of American musicians and compilers. Supported by many of the more learned clergymen,[2] musicians began to speak out for musical reform in American church music.

The earlier reform statements are found in tune-books printed in the Eastern New England and Middle Atlantic regions. These compilers moved against the prevailing climate, some risking their profits to promote their idea of good musical taste.

> The Editors do not expect that the present work will receive a liberal share of public patronage; they are sensible that it is not calculated to please the present taste; they know and are sorry to record it, *to the shame of their countrymen*, that the MASSACHUSETTS COMPILER and the works of *Kimbal* and *Holyoke*, lie neglected on the book-seller's shelf, while those of *Benham*, *Law*, *Adgate*, *Pillsbury*, *Shumway*, & C. are sought for with avidity and receiv'd with approbation.[3]

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[1] *Elements de Musique Theorique et Practique* eclaircis et simplifies par MD'Alembert; *Dictionaire de Musique* par J. J. Rousseau; *Allgemeine Theorie der Schoenen Kunste* bey Johann George Sulzer; *Treatise on the Art of Music*, by W. Jones; *An Essay on Musical Expression* by Charles Avison; *Treatise on Counterpoint*, by John Joseph Feux; [sic] *Elements on Thorough Bass and Composition* by Dr. Edw. Miller. Compare this list with that used by clergy in Chapter II.

[2] See Chapter II.

[3] John Cole, *The Beauties of Psalmody* (Baltimore, 1804).

The Salem Collection (Salem, 1805) took up the reform cause, stating directly on its title page "Classical Sacred Musick," the description usually given to the older tunes of European origin. The editors suggested that the "well-meaning spirit of charity which has disposed Christian societies to admit into their service the productions of any author, who presents himself to them in a pious garb and with honest motives" has led to "a general and most deplorable corruption of taste in our church musick." The editor then cited a quotation from the Englishman Dr. Edward Miller describing the proper attributes for a psalm tune.

> . . . their construction, though simple, is elegant and dignified, and when properly performed by a large congregation and judiciously accompanied on the organ, their effect is perhaps as great in exciting sublime emotions, as we experience from *anthems*, *chorusses*, and more elaborate musick.

The onus for neglecting these classical simple tunes must be borne by the singing masters, who, "Fondly attached to compositions *in many parts,* and those chiefly composed by unskilful men, abounding in *ill-constructed fugues* and false harmony, . . . are apt to treat with contempt the simple but elegant melodies. . . ." In spite of these sharp comments, the sale of *The Salem Collection* appears not to have been difficult, for a second edition was issued the following year. The editors noted that they were "highly gratified at the reception which the first edition met with, from persons of science, judgment, and taste. The opposition it has received from persons of a different stamp, though a circumstance to be regretted, was not unexpected."

Oliver Holden stated in his anonymous Plain Psalmody (Boston, 1800) "In the general omission of fuges, the Author hopes to meet the approbation and concurrence of the lovers of real devotion." The best Boston tastes apparently agreed, for Boston publications were among the first to generally eliminate the fuging tune.

> In this Collection will be found none of those wild fugues, and rapid and confused movements, which have so long been the disgrace of Congregational psalmody, and the contempt of the judicious and tasteful amateur.[4]

While some musicians were in the forefront of musical change, others followed the changing trend. William Cooper, sensing the current trend, made a public confession of his conversion to the reform.

> It has become a general opinion among good singers, that the music in use before the revolution in 1775, is much better than that which has succeeded. As the Compiler must confess, that he did as much as lay in his power, to produce this lamentable revolution in music, in contempt of the opinion of his fathers of better taste, he thinks it his duty in this selection to restore some of that music, which experience has taught him contains every thing that is beautiful in point of composition, delightful to the hearer; and which, above all, is calculated, from its solemnity and dignity, to raise our devout affections to Heaven.[5]

Another important figure who changes his "tune" was Andrew Law, lately criticized by John Cole and others. Law protested in his Select Harmony (Philadelphia, 1811):

> The music contained in this volume, is of that kind, which will stand the test of ages. It is not of that frivolous style, unhappily so current in the country; so demonstrative of an incorrect, not to stay [sic], a low, taste, in music, and so reproachful to the character of a country continuing to encourage, or even to endure, such a taste.!

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[4] Elias Mann, Massachusetts Collection (Boston, 1807).

[5] The Beauties of Church Music (Boston, 1804).

The defense of the old native American style was conducted in a lower key. The compilers of such tune-books believed they were catering to the preferences of the majority of Americans, and many locally distributed books were in fact well received. Abraham Maxim claimed that his Northern Harmony (Exeter, 1808) included "a goodly number of pieces calculated to hit the taste, and promote the interests of Singing Schools, and Religious Societies." He noted that a number of tunes had been added "mostly American, from an idea that the European Music, is less agreeable to the American ear, than her own." In another volume he commented "That difference of taste, which is well known to exist among singers, renders it indispensable to please them all; and equally impossible not to please some of them." He therefore presented "a selection of pieces, new and old." Maxim compiled his book in Turner, Maine, where the tastes of Boston and Exeter were probably less well considered. Rural taste is illustrated in another Maine tune-book by Charles Robbins,[6] in which is noted

> his own sentiment that such a book . . . would be of some utility to schools and the citizens of Maine in general, who at present have but a small opportunity of attaining musical knowledge by schools, the settlement being so new. He has therefore laid down the Rules of Music in a very plain manner, and if possible kept them above the contempt of the connoisseur.

In general the choice of music was determined by whether the composer was European or American; to the reformers European music was proper, while American music was lowly and improper. Oliver Holden warned, however, that

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[6] The Columbian Harmony (Exeter, 1805).

> It is indeed to be lamented that among so many American authors, so little can be found well written, or well adapted to sacred purposes; but it is disingenuous and impolite to throw that little away, while our country is in a state of progressive improvement.[7]

Holden's plea to the contrary, some sought to publish only European music, restricting the meaning of "classical" to "musick copied from the compositions of the celebrated classical doctors of divinity and musick."[8] "An American" named his tune-book The Columbian Harp (Northampton, 1812), but noted that he had collected "in one volume the most celebrated compositions of the first masters of Europe." It is not clear why he did not name the book "the Columbian and European Harp" /italics added/ as did Bartholemew Brown. Such extremes of taste, however, met with opposition. Benjamin Leslie wrote:

> many . . . pretended votaries will artfully strive to stifle this blessed science by discarding not only every book, but almost every domestic composition. Most certain it is, that if arts and sciences were properly cultivated and encouraged, they would shine as conspicuously in America as in any other part of the globe: and as certain it is that they have lately been sullied and tarnished, either by neglect of cultivation, or by designing emissaries; for there are now extant several volumes of music that contain scarcely a single American composition; and some of them in their prefaces contain burlesques on American compositions. It is not my intention to recriminate but rather my sincere desire that the labours and exertions of Billings, Wood, Law, Stone, Holyoke, Kimball, Cole, Atwell, Arnold and many

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[7] Oliber Holden, The Worcester Collection (Boston, 1803).

[8] Jonathan Huntington, Classical Sacred Musick (Boston, 1812).

> other ingenious men, who have spent a large proportion of their lives and fortunes in cultivating music in America, may be meritoriously rewarded; and that every production whether foreign or domestic, may meet with suitable encouragement.[9]

Leslie, as might be suspected from the above statement, self-composed much of the music in his tune-book. Another compiler said, in a similar vein, "The few pieces selected from American authors prove, that Europe is not the exclusive residence of Musical Genius, but that America, as well as Europe, may boast of eminent Authors."[10] The most reasoned statement regarding the use of European versus American compositions came from The Suffolk Selection (Boston, 1807), which rejected the blanket condemnation of all fast tunes.

> . . . for a quick tune, and even a fuge, properly constructed, may be solemn and impressive, but tunes verging on the theatrick or ludicrous, however ingenious the composition, will deservedly, meet with but little encouragement. But it may be enquired, whether there does not . . . exist an erroneous opinion respecting musical character. By some, slow musick only, has been considered devotional . . .
>
> The reason why ancient musick is preferred, cannot be because the style is always superiour or the harmony perfect; nor can modern musick be rejected altogether for the want of these qualities; otherwise we should not see American tunes reprinted by Masters in London with trifling emandations; and many of the most celebrated English tunes very materially altered by eminent professors in London and Boston.

It can be seen that many of the tune-books quoted above were tastemakers; i.e., they expressed definite opinions as to what standards of musical taste ought to prevail. The influence of these outspoken taste-making books did eventually prevail, for a gradual shift in the musical content of the tune-books can be measured, but the influence seems to be indirect and cumulative. A large number of tune-books took no position in the controversy, preferring to follow or mirror the public taste rather than lead it. Stephen Jenks Union Compiler No. II (Dedham, 1806) was planned "to accommodate every purchaser." Moreover, Jenks would "have opportunity to watch the prevailing tastes for music, and be thereby better able to determine, at least for himself, which is best." Other fence straddlers included Freeman Lewis' The Beauties of Harmony (Pittsburgh, 1818) which included

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[9] The Concert Harmony (Salem, 1811).

[10] David Pool and Josiah Holbrook, The American and European Harmony (Providence, 1813). Such a statement is far removed, however from the artistic chauvinism which marked the post revolutionary period.

> . . . a musical variety; it would have been partial and ungenerous, to have confined the pages to a set of compositions of one particular style, which might please my own ear, or that of any other individual. . . . I hope every lover of music . . . may find at least one page which will please their taste.

Samuel Dyer, with an ear to the youthful membership of singing schools claimed that some compilers introduced "too great a proportion of grave scientific tunes, and intricate pieces, which . . . are not appreciated by the young. . . ."[11] Dyer therefore included "some of each of the grave, plain, flowing, animated and fuguing description, that the different taste of individuals may be gratified."

Samuel Gilman portrayed the inevitable conflict which occurred at the local church level. He cites an incident in his own church when, under the influence of a singer with great zeal for reform, only the English tunes "Old Hundred," "St. Martin's," "Mear," "Bath" and "Little Marlborough" were sung. This caused, according to Gilman, such dissension in the choir, and caused church attendance to drop so sharply, that the earlier style of flying pieces, full of "quavers and crotchets" was reinstituted; "Russia," "Northfield," "Psalm 46," and "New Jerusalem," all American tunes, were again sung. Eventually, he reports, compromise was necessary to please all parties: it was decided to sing two fuges, two ancient airs, and one tune different from either of these.[12]

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[11] New Selection (Baltimore, 1817).

Some of the reformers sought to "correct" rather than remove American tunes from use. They sought to provide a smoother and more "scientific" harmonization for the American and rural English tunes than was provided by the original composer or source of the tune. William Wood said in *Harmonia Evangelica* (Exeter, 1810), "A great proportion of the music in this number, is of a style similar to our modern compositions, but of correct harmony. . . ." Solomon Warriner observed in *The Springfield Collection* (Boston, 1813) "that some of the old tunes will vary from the copies which have been generally published in this country, from Williams and Tansur, many of which are incorrect as it respects the harmony." John Cole quoted an English organist in support of his harmonic alterations in *Songs of Zion* (Baltimore, 1818):

> In this volume, the Old Melodies have been retained, but their harmonies have undergone considerable alteration, many of them being entirely reset, and others partly so. To do this was

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[12] Samuel Gilman, *Memoirs of a New England Village Choir* (Boston, 1829).

> by no means a pleasant task, yet it was quite a necessary one; as the basses and other parts of the harmony, in most of the books that have been published, were found to be so very incorrect, that it could not be dispensed with.

Similarly, Oliver Shaw made it a practice to retain American tunes, changing only the harmony. He said, in The Columbian Sacred Harmony (Dedham, 1808) "the harmony . . . has been carefully corrected . . . while the melody has been preserved inviolate."

By 1812 reform had generally spread throughout the eastern regions of the country; fuguing tunes and native compositions were largely supplanted with "classical compositions." In the rural areas to the north, west and south, however, in regions where settlers had migrated in the late eighteenth century, the musical taste of the pre-reform era remained strong. Moreover, this musical taste was subjected to the alterations and additions of a rural culture; separated from the immediate influence of the New England tune-books, new tunes, many of them of secular origin, were incorporated into the corpus of sacred or "spiritual songs." Added to the native American tunes of Edson, Swan, Billings and Read, these spiritual songs appeared in considerable numbers in the first tune-books printed in the West. Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music (Harrisburg, 1810) responded to the taste of the rural western regions, and the tune-book was adapted to suit that taste.

> The editor has not depended upon his own judgment; well aware that to "please with his airs," much depends on the variety of taste among the admirers of sacred music. The lovers of ancient melody, will here recognize a good number of old acquaintances, that were almost 'dead and forgotten lie;'

By "ancient melody" Wyeth was not making reference to "classical" tunes. Rather he meant the old native American tunes and some of the rural English tunes, now a part of American tradition. A comparison of the tunes in Wyeth's Repository with the list of most popular tunes shows classification A-1, 23 percentage points above the popular list mean percentage, and E-2, the rural English classification, scores 5 percentage points higher; together they run very considerably above the average. Wyeth's Part Second (Harrisburg, 1813)[13] completely changed its content, including a large number of folk hymns or "spirituals."[14] This radical change of content had, as Lowens indicates, a profound influence on the Southern tune-books published in the following years. One such volume in the bibliography before 1820 is Ananias Davisson's Kentucky Harmony (Harrisonburg, 1815).

The Kentucky Harmony undoubtedly seemed to represent a satanic plot to the reformers, for it embodied nearly all that they had been striving for two decades to have expunged from musical worship. Approximately ninety per cent of its tunes were American: many were folk hymns, a feature certain to inflame any reputable musician in an urban culture. Davisson wrote under "General Observations":

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[13] This volume is represented in the tune-book sample.

[14] Consult Irving Lowens, "John Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music Part Second (1813): A Northern Precursor of Southern Folk Hymnody," in Music and Musicians (New York, 1964), pp. 149-150.

> There are some of our superanuated [sic] old *Deacons*, who stand in opposition to fuguing music: But it is an old maxim, and I think a very just one too, *that variety is always pleasing*, "and it is well known," says an eminent Author, *viz. W. Billings*, "that there is more variety in one piece of fuging music, than in twenty pieces of plain song, for while the tones do most sweetly coincide and agree, the words are seemingly engaged in a musical warfare; . . . . the audience are most luxuriously entertained, and exceedingly delighted; in the meantime their minds are surprizingly [sic] agitated, and extremely fluctuated . . .

Thus did Billings, long silenced by his fall from favor in his native East, regain "eminence" as a spokesman for American church music in the West. *The Kentucky Harmony* did not stop there, however. In addition to advocating temperance ("A frequent use of spiritous liquors will spedily [sic] ruin the best voice"), and being notated in "dunce-notes," it challenged the classical harmonic system by advocating the removal of all sharps, flats and natural symbols.

> We shall first notice the accidental flats and sharps, these characters we are told, stand in direct opposition to each other, the one pulling up, and the other down; from this stiffnecked contrast we beg to be releas'd, believing them to be of no other use, than to destroy the ease, and freedom of pronunciation, and convert the beauties of nature into a kind of sonata . . .

Such symbols, according to Davisson, only "swell the rudiments, and perplex the learner with a crowd of mysteries which are in my opinion useless." Without specifically saying so, Davisson is really arguing here for the natural folk modal scales which he undoubtedly heard in use; he objects to the alterations made by the "scholars." This is certainly a clear example of anti-intellectualism, and indicative of an approaching shift in the role assigned to the tune-book. At least one compiler, Samuel L. Metcalf, was able to have his taste and profit from it, too. In The Kentucky Harmonist (Cincinnati, 1820) he said"

> Let it not be supposed that we are in the slightest degree partial to the modern complicated and fugueing music, because a few such pieces have been introduced into this work. The respect due to public opinion, and the necessity of a suitable variety, have induced me to depart a little from my own taste.

The reformers did not long allow these conditions to go unchallenged in the western area. Wheeler Gillet's The Virginia Sacred Minstrel (Winchester, 1817) directly attacked The Kentucky Harmony, complaining that

> the Author or Compiler of the book, has taken such liberties as are at variance with every principle of music; and it cannot be considered doing him any injustice to say, he has discovered, a total incapacity to perform the undertaking he has attempted, or been guilty of an unjustifiable violation of some of the most essential rules of the composition of music. He has studiously left out of all the tunes in his book, all the accidental flats, sharps, naturals and apogiatures [sic] or grace notes that the composers of those tunes found it necessary to introduce into them--The omission of which is as gross a violation of the rules of composition of music as it would be to leave out of a sentence . . . all the stops and marks necessary to the proper division of the sentence;

Gillet, who had moved from Baltimore where he had been under the influence of John Cole, claimed to have lent his aid

> in removing from that divine science a radical defect . . . by selecting . . . such a collection of tunes as he thinks 'will speak for themselves', where there is a taste for Classic Psalmody; and where there is not, the 'common riff raff' will be preferred.

He berated the publishers to study music so that they would stop printing "any more of their volumes, fraught with such useless, insipid trash, as hath been poured out upon the public, from almost every corner." John Armstrong's The Pittsburgh Selection (Pittsburgh, 1816) advertised that "The tunes are chiefly European." Timothy Flint, as far west as Cincinnati, wrote that while

> young people, whose taste is yet crude and uninformed, almost universally prefer the rapid and fuging music of American composuists [sic] . . . as their taste becomes more delicate, their relish more just, and their judgment better informed, music of the former class becomes cloying and insipid;[15]

In his "Dissertation Upon the True Taste in Church Music"[16] he gives a historical description of the changing tastes in church music, indicating the "correct taste" that had recently come to America. As for the West he noted without recrimination:

> The population and improvement of the western country are rapidly advancing. Towns and villages, and the spires of frequent temples, we joyfully anticipate will in a few years emerge from the wilderness, and gladden the whole region from the river to the lake. These temples will be vocal with the praises of the Most High. Let the inhabitants strive with a laudable anxiety to bring early to their embryo institutions, both civil and sacred, correct principles, and a just taste.

Thus began in the west a new phase in the constantly shifting pattern of taste which soon drove the followers of Ananias Davisson and company further to the south and into the mountains where the tension between the urban and rural tastes would be less sharp.[17]

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[15] The Columbian Harmonist (Cincinnati, 1816).

[16] Ibid.

[17] See map in G. P. Jackson, Another Sheaf of White Spirituals (Gainesville, 1952), p. xiii.

Shape-Notes

The use of shape notes has already been discussed in Chapter III. Some notice should be given here, however, since this variant notation also became embroiled in the controversy over musical taste. Use of the shapes was begun in the opening years of the century in such volumes as Little and Smith's *Easy Instructor* and Andrew Law's *Art of Singing*. *The Easy Instructor* continued the four shape notation and was later imitated by others, the most important being Wyeth's *Repository*.[18] From this volume the shape notation spread into the southern folk hymn publications, where it became standard. Thus the shapes came to be used in the same books the content of which included large proportions of American native and folk tunes. They were threfore sharply assailed by the reformers as "dunce notes" or "buckwheat notes." Lowens says that shapes "came to be regarded in urban centers as the musical notation of the country people," while the urban musicians "would have nothing to do with such music nor with such notation."[19] Even Timothy Flint, whose reform ideas are quoted above, was forced to surrender, though reluctantly, on this point.

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[18] The most obvious imitation is Joseph Doll's *Leichter Unterricht* (Harrisburg, 1810), which simply translated the title into German.

[19] Irving Lowens, "The Easy Instructor," in *Music and Musicians* (New York, 1964), p. 118.

> But, patent notes[20] were in general use in this quarter; people were attached to them; and to amend the public taste, and introduce classical music, it was thought best to pay this deference to general opinion, and to adopt them.[21]

Emanuel Kent's David's Harp (Baltimore, 1813?), probably in reaction to Law's publications which were printed with seven, rather than four, shapes by that time, said:

> The good old notes, as well as the good old style, are here united; indeed these will always be found hand in hand— and it is a pleasing reflection to the lovers of good music, that the new-fangled blockheaded notes and the music which is printed with them, are in general of a piece; so that they are spared the pain of torturing their eyes in looking for pearls among rubbish: but as both notes and music are dying a natural death, it is scarcely necessary to hasten their dissolution.

2. A Study of Three Series Editions

One way of tracing the changing pattern of musical taste is through a close examination of the most popular and widely used tune-books of the period studied. There are three such tune-books which appear in multiple editions from the beginning to the end of the period 1800-1820: Bartholemew Brown's Templi Carmina, William Little and William Smith's Easy Instructor, and The Village Harmony. Other publications, such as Thomas Hastings' Musica Sacra, John Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music, Daniel Read's Columbian Harmonist and Andrew Law's Art of Singing were also popular, appearing in multiple editions, but none of these span the entire twenty year period. John Cole's publications span the period, but are designed for a more specialized and limited clientele. The study therefore is limited to the three first-mentioned volumes. The following is an analysis of the content of these tune-books.

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[20] Another name given to shape notes.

[21] The Columbian Harmonist (Cincinnati, 1816).

a. The Easy Instructor

The Easy Instructor had its earliest beginnings in a title page which was filed for copyright June 15, 1798,[22] under the names of Edward Stammers and William Little. It was not unusual to copyright a title page of a book in this manner before the book itself was actually printed. Such was the case with The Easy Instructor, the first edition of which was not printed until 1801. In the interim, Stammers, who had apparently envisioned a tune-book containing a number of European compositions, died; his place was taken by one William Smith, whose identity remains somewhat obscure. Under Little and Smith the first edition, published in Philadelphia, contained almost all American tunes, an apparent alteration of the original plan.[23] An 1802 edition was published by Smith in New York, after which Smith struck out on his own, editing, in 1803 and 1806, editions of The Easy Instructor, Part II. The end of the partnership apparently prompted Little to sell the copyright to Charles and George Webster and Daniel Steele in Albany, where the first edition was published in 1805.[24] Beginning with the 1808 edition, books were printed from musical type, with new editions or issues yearly or oftener. Shape notes were used in all editions.

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[22] Lowens, "The Easy Instructor," p. 118.

[23] Lowens, Ibid., p. 124.

[24] Ibid., p. 130.

Irving Lowens has charted the change in content, edition by edition, noting that in "each new edition a greater or lesser number of old American favorites was deleted and new and fashionable European tunes were added.[25] Lowen's calculations show 100 American tunes out of a total of 105 tunes printed in the first edition, and only 27 American tunes out of 153 tunes in the last edition in 1831.[26] A comparison of the tune classifications as represented in the list of most popular tunes shows a similar progression. [See Fig. XXV.]

Most significantly, The Easy Instructor was a popular book; i.e., the percentage of tunes found on the popular list increased from 33% in 1802 to a high of 74% in 1816. These levels are far above that for most of the tune-books examined, and certainly indicates the basis for its extended popularity. Hastings may have exaggerated when he indicated that 50,000 copies had been "palmed upon the public,"[27] but the volume was widely circulated in bookstores throughout Pennsylvania, New York State, and the country to the west.

The Easy Instructor, as Lowens indicates, did respond to the wide trend toward English and Continental tunes found in most church music publications during the early nineteenth century, but, much more importantly, it responded to that trend consistently behind the norms for other

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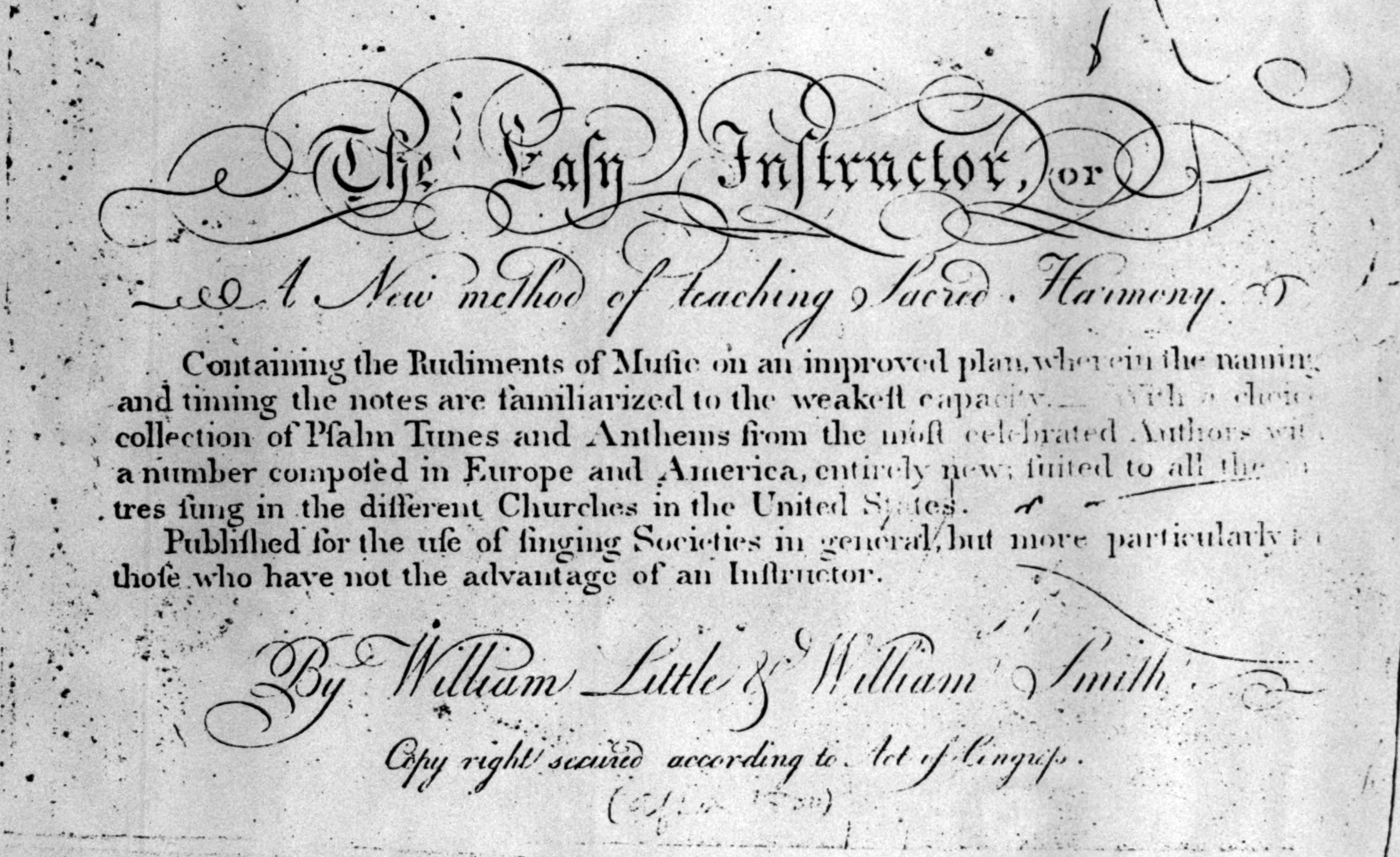
[25] Ibid., p. 132.

[26] Ibid., Appendix B, pp.306-307.

[27] Thomas Hastings, The Musical Magazine (July, 1835), p. 87, as quoted by F. J. Metcalf, Musical Quarterly, XXIII, No. 1 (January 1937), p. 96.

Fig. XXV THE EASY INSTRUCTOR: Editions.

Date	Ed	T	P	%	E	%	E1	%	E2	%	A	%	A1	%	A2	%
1802	A	99	33	33.3	5	15.2	2	6.1	3	9.1	28	84.8	27	81.8	1	3.0
1806	C	100	42	42.0	11	26.2	5	11.9	6	14.3	31	73.8	29	69.0	2	4.8
1807	D	100	45	45.0	12	26.7	6	13.3	6	13.3	33	73.3	30	66.7	3	6.7
1808	E	90	51	56.7	18	35.3	9	17.6	9	17.6	33	64.7	32	62.7	1	2.0
1810	G	90	49	54.4	17	34.7	9	18.4	8	16.3	32	65.3	32	65.3	0	0.0
1813	L	103	70	68.0	33	47.1	17	24.3	16	22.9	37	52.9	36	51.4	1	1.4
1814	M	100	71	71.0	36	50.7	20	28.2	16	22.5	35	49.3	34	47.9	1	1.4
1815	N	100	71	71.0	37	52.1	20	28.2	17	23.9	34	47.9	34	47.9	0	0.0
1816	O	108	80	74.1	43	53.8	23	28.8	20	25.0	37	46.3	36	45.0	1	1.3
1817	P	124	88	71.0	53	60.2	30	34.1	23	26.1	35	39.8	33	37.5	2	2.3
1820	W	127	92	72.4	55	59.8	31	33.7	24	26.1	37	40.2	34	37.0	3	3.3
1828	Z	142	95	66.9	70	73.7	38	40.0	32	33.7	25	26.3	25	26.3	0	0.0



The Easy Instructor, or

A New method of teaching Sacred Harmony.

Containing the Rudiments of Muſic on an improved plan, wherein the naming and timing the notes are familiarized to the weakeſt capacity.— With a choice collection of Pſalm Tunes and Anthems from the moſt celebrated Authors wit a number compoſed in Europe and America, entirely new; ſuited to all the tres ſung in the different Churches in the United States.

Publiſhed for the uſe of ſinging Societies in general, but more particularly t thoſe who have not the advantage of an Inſtructor.

By William Little & William Smith.

Copy right secured according to Act of Congreſs.

([illegible])

Fig. XXVI THE EASY INSTRUCTOR: Title Page.

tune-books. That is to say, while the percentage of European tunes did increase from 15% in 1802 to 60% in 1817, the norm for all sampled tune-books[28] increased from 57% to 72% European in the same time span. Moreover, European tunes account for better than 75% of the popular tunes in those tune-books sampled only from region III (Western New England and New York State). Another indication of the essential conservatism of *The Easy Instructor* is the content of rural English tunes (E-2), many of them old American favorites; these are consistently high in proportion to E-1 tunes. These relationships appear to establish that *The Easy Instructor* was definitely not a trend setting tune-book. It was undoubtedly purchased by people, mostly rural and modestly educated, who liked the "good old tunes." As musical tastes changed in the regions of distribution, *The Easy Instructor* gradually adapted its content to meet the demands of its patrons. It is interesting to note that a reprint of an 1817 Albany edition was issued in Cincinnati in 1819; this edition, containing a higher percentage of American tunes than was then acceptable in eastern New York, probably about "hit the taste" as Stephen Jenks once said, of the western area.

b. *The Columbian and European Harmony*

While *The Easy Instructor* was circulated primarily in regions II, III and IV, *The Columbian and European Harmony* and *The Village Harmony* were products of eastern New England, circulating widely throughout that region. *The Columbian and European Harmony, or Bridge-*

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[28] See next section.

water Collection of Sacred Music underwent several name changes during its lifetime. The third edition (1810) was simply called *Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Musick*. Beginning with the fourth edition (1816) the Latin title *Templi Carmina, Songs of the Temple* was applied. After 1816 it was printed at the rate of one edition a year, reaching the twenty-seventh edition in 1839. According to Metcalf, the collection was highly esteemed and much used for more than 25 years.[29] The outstanding success of the collection was undoubtedly due, in part, to the ability of Isaiah Thomas, the publisher, to properly gauge the public taste, and to market the tune-book through his extensive network of dealers. Thomas had published a number of tune-books, including the popular *Worcester Collection*, the last edition of which appeared in 1803.

Bartholemew Brown, the principal editor of the tune-book, was engaged by Judge Nahum Mitchell to assist in the preparation of the volume. Born in 1772 in Sterling, Massachusetts, Brown graduated from Harvard in 1799 and became a lawyer. He went to Boston in 1809 and there his musical interests led him to a career in teaching music. He was an original member of the Handel and Haydn Society, becoming its eighth president in 1836.[30] Metcalf notes that Benjamin Holt and Nahum Mitchell assisted Brown in compiling the collection,[31] but Brown was the principal editor.

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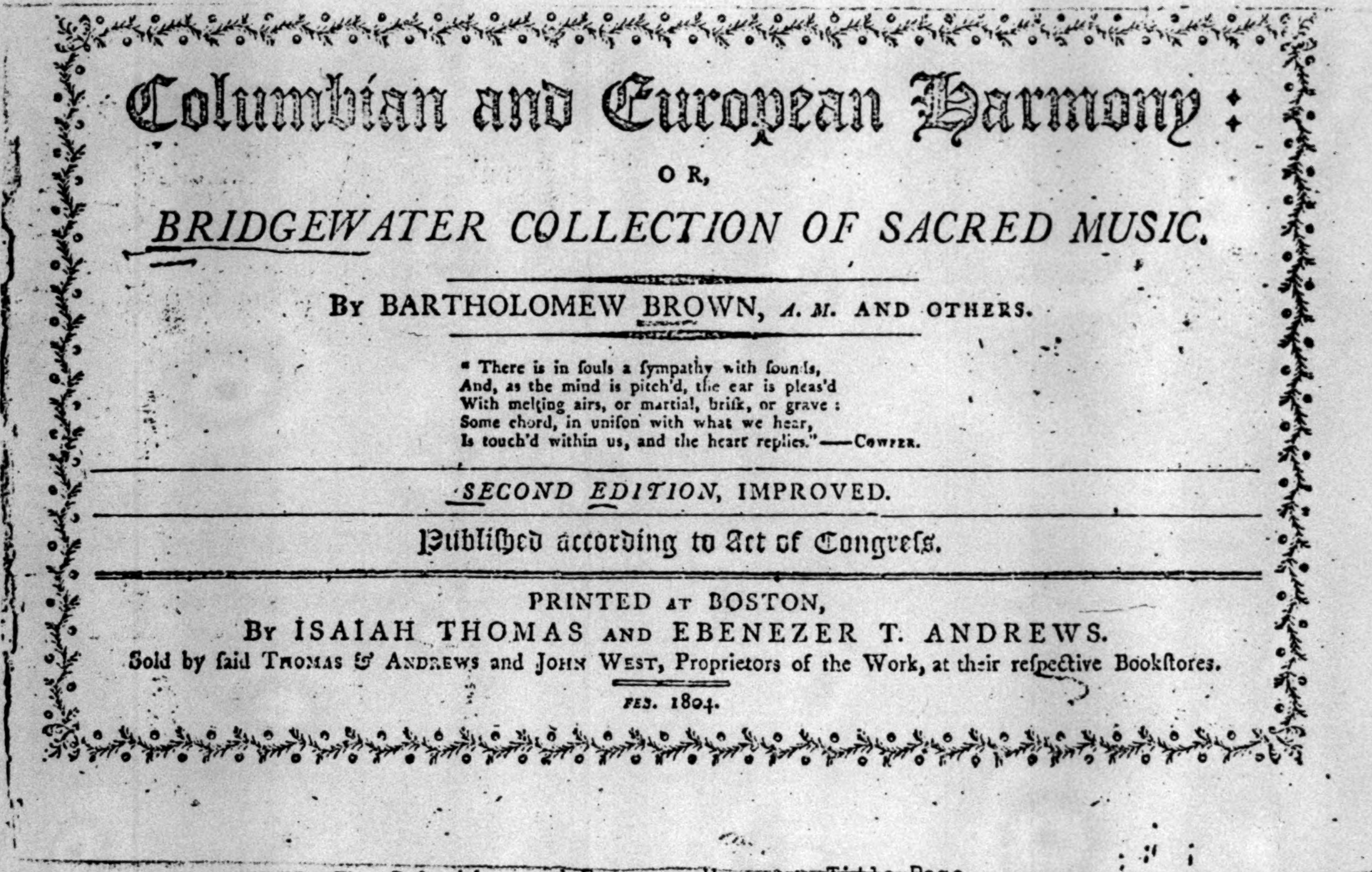
[29] Frank J. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers* (New York, 1925), pp. 150-152.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

The use of the name "Columbian" *and* "*European*" suggested the inclusion of tunes from European composers. The Preface, dated at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, indicated that the tunes were "chiefly European," but that "many of them, having never been before published in this country, [would] have all the novelty and effect of original compositions." Unlike *The Easy Instructor*, therefore, the very first edition (1802) contained 75% European tunes. Moreover, more than half the tunes in the book appear on the popular tune list, rendering this high proportion of English tunes quite significant. This percentage edged upward slightly to 81% in 1810, then continued on a plateau at least through the ninth edition of 1821. In the 1818 and 1819 editions 51% of the tunes were old English tunes (E-1), a further indication of the reform character of the book. This was a tune-book, then, which underwent relatively little change in basic orientation. Nevertheless, individual tunes did change considerably; only 62 of the 288 tunes in the 1817 edition are also found among the 146 tunes of the 1802 edition. The volume must be considered as an urban tune-book, reflective of the best Boston taste of the period. By late in the second decade, however, the very popularity which the tune-book had attained probably militated against considerable change. Only slight changes occur in the sixth, seventh and eighth editions. At the same time, the English tunes in two of the most "chaste" books of the period, Samuel Willard's *Deerfield Collection* (1814) and *The Boston First Church's Sacred Musick* (1815) accounted for nearly 92% of the popular tunes. This



Columbian and European Harmony:

OR,

BRIDGEWATER COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSIC.

BY BARTHOLOMEW BROWN, *A. M.* AND OTHERS.

"There is in ſouls a ſympathy with ſounds,
And, as the mind is pitch'd, the ear is pleas'd
With melting airs, or martial, briſk, or grave:
Some chord, in uniſon with what we hear,
Is touch'd within us, and the heart replies."——COWPER.

SECOND EDITION, IMPROVED.

Publiſhed according to Act of Congreſs.

PRINTED AT BOSTON,
BY ISAIAH THOMAS AND EBENEZER T. ANDREWS.
Sold by ſaid THOMAS & ANDREWS and JOHN WEST, Proprietors of the Work, at their reſpective Bookſtores.
FEB. 1804.

Fig. XXVII The Columbian and European Harmony: Title Page.

Fig. XXVIII

THE COLUMBIAN AND EUROPEAN HARMONY
or
BRIDGEWATER COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSIC

Editions

Date	Ed	T	P	%	E	%	E1	%	E2	%	A	%	A1	%	A2	%
1802	1	146	75	51.4	56	74.7	31	41.3	25	33.3	19	25.3	17	22.7	2	2.7
1804	2	157	78	49.7	58	74.4	33	42.3	25	32.1	20	25.6	18	23.1	2	2.6
1810	3	196	91	46.4	74	81.3	42	46.2	32	35.2	17	18.7	14	15.4	3	3.3
1816	4	261*	97	37.2	79	81.4	48	49.5	31	32.0	18	18.6	15	15.5	3	3.1
1817	5	288	95	33.0	74	77.9	38	40.0	36	37.9	21	22.1	17	17.9	4	4.2
1818	6	288	107	37.2	87	81.3	51	47.7	36	33.6	20	18.7	17	15.9	3	2.8
1819	7	288	107	37.2	87	81.3	51	47.7	36	33.6	20	18.7	17	15.9	3	2.8
1820	8	281	105	37.4	85	81.0	48	45.7	37	35.3	20	19.0	17	16.2	3	3.0
1821	9	236*	89	37.7	72	80.9	43	48.3	29	32.6	17	19.1	14	15.7	3	3.4

*Incomplete index.

divergence probably accounts for a sharply critical review of the 1820 edition which appeared in the germanophile John Rowe Parker's Euterpeiad or Musical Intelligencer under the unidentified initials S.P.M.[32] This critic recognizes the difficulties which beset the compilation of an outstanding volume of music in America, and hence "could excuse the deficiencies of the Templi Carmina were it not that it makes such pretensions to excellence" and is recommended by two respectable musical societies. By making this claim to excellence, the book actually retarded the cultivation of church music. The reviewer then categorizes the tunes found in the edition, indicating his commentary to be "friendly hints of improvement for a future edition." He agrees that the inclusion of "old established trash" is often necessary, but protests that the introduction of new trash is inexcusable. Whatever the arguments presented, the editor apparently decided to stick with a successful formula, for all of the "trash," both old and new, appeared in the next edition in 1821. Some of the objectionable tunes were, however, deleted in the 1823 edition. Thus a tune-book which began publication according to the best Boston taste became somewhat more responsive to wide tastes as it increased in area of distribution and importance.

c. The Village Harmony

If Samuel Gilman's Memoirs of a New England Village Choir (Boston,

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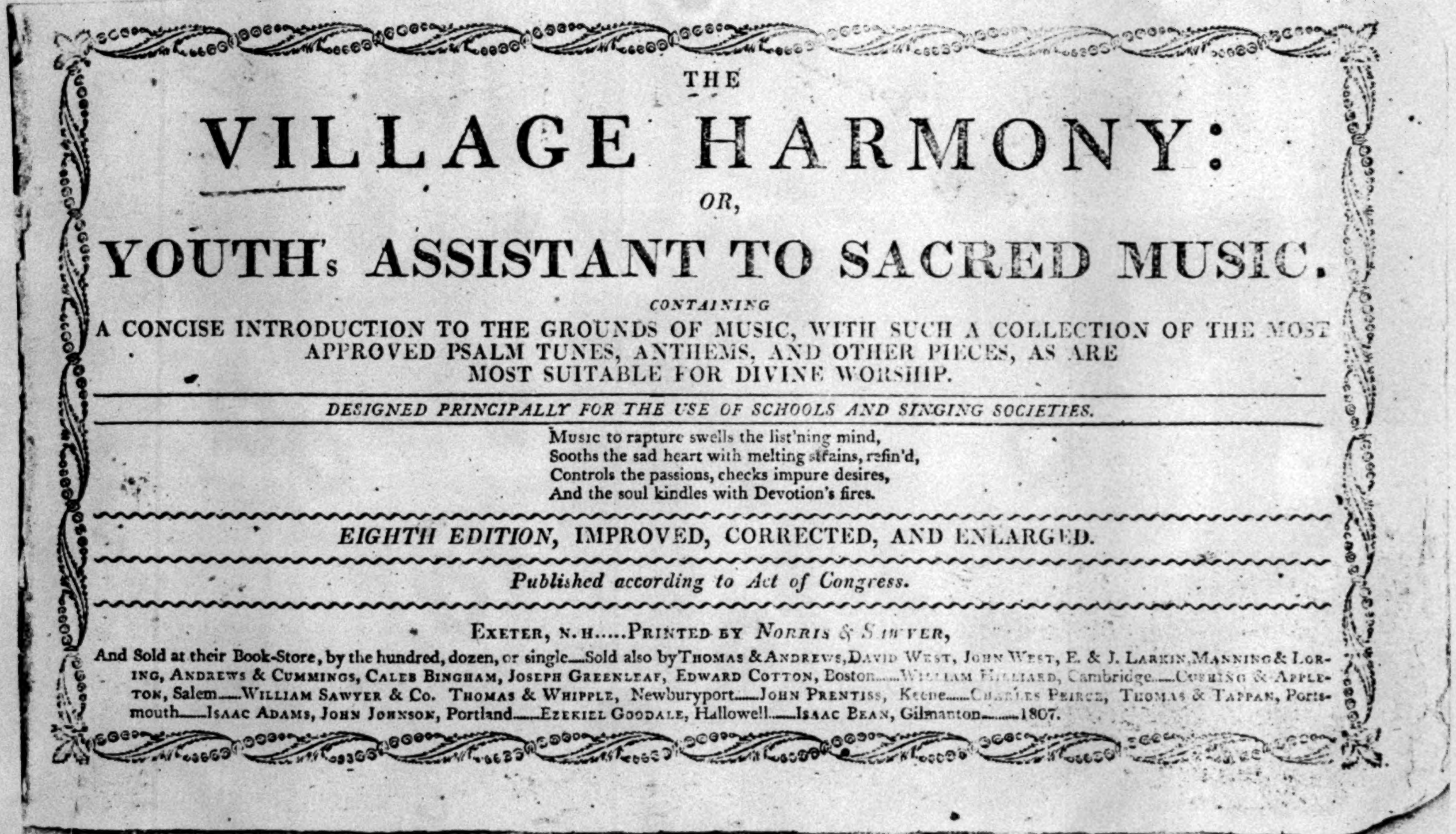
[32] I (July 29, 1820), 2-3; I (August 5, 1820), 2-3; I (August 12, 1820), 1-2. As quoted by James W. Thompson in "Music and Musical Activities in New England: 1800-1838 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1962), Appendix A, pp. 601-613.

1829) is correct, The Village Harmony must have been the standard tune-book used by many church choirs and singing schools in the rural regions of New England. The Village Harmony was first issued in 1795 by the Exeter, New Hampshire printer, Henry Ranlet. Ranlet was active as a printer from 1785 to 1789 with J. Lamson, carried on his own business from 1789-1805, and spent the two years before his death in 1807 in partnership with Charles Norris. Ranlet was responsible for the first seven editions of The Village Harmony, after which Norris continued the series in partnership with John Sawyer until 1809. The tenth edition (1810) was printed by Norris and "sold also by E. Little & Co." By 1813 E. Little and Co. of Newburyport had become the publisher of the work. In 1817 West & Richardson became publishers of the tune-book changing the secondary title from Youth's Assistant to Sacred Musick to the more inclusive New-England Repository of Sacred Musick. J. J. Williams replaced Charles Norris as printer beginning with the 1818 fifteenth edition. Seventeen editions appeared in all, the last in 1821. The question of musical editorship remains unanswered. It is quite possible that Ranlet himself performed the editing, although he states in the "Advertisement" to the fourth edition (1798) that he had "the assistance of several Teachers of Musick." In the "Improved, Sixth Edition" of 1803, Ranlet said:

> Gentlemen, who have furnished the Proprietor with particular Lists of Music, he begs leave to tender them his grateful thanks—and so far as he could, legally, consistent with his own feelings, has impressed their Music in the Village Harmony, —which, with his own exertions, he is enabled to present to his Friends and the Public . . .



THE

VILLAGE HARMONY:

OR,

YOUTH's ASSISTANT TO SACRED MUSIC.

CONTAINING

A CONCISE INTRODUCTION TO THE GROUNDS OF MUSIC, WITH SUCH A COLLECTION OF THE MOST
APPROVED PSALM TUNES, ANTHEMS, AND OTHER PIECES, AS ARE
MOST SUITABLE FOR DIVINE WORSHIP.

DESIGNED PRINCIPALLY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND SINGING SOCIETIES.

Music to rapture swells the list'ning mind,
Sooths the sad heart with melting strains, refin'd,
Controls the passions, checks impure desires,
And the soul kindles with Devotion's fires.

EIGHTH EDITION, IMPROVED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.

Published according to Act of Congress.

EXETER, N. H.....PRINTED BY *NORRIS & SAWYER,*
And Sold at their Book-Store, by the hundred, dozen, or single.—Sold also by THOMAS & ANDREWS, DAVID WEST, JOHN WEST, E. & J. LARKIN, MANNING & LORING, ANDREWS & CUMMINGS, CALEB BINGHAM, JOSEPH GREENLEAF, EDWARD COTTON, Boston.....WILLIAM HILLIARD, Cambridge.....CUSHING & APPLETON, Salem.....WILLIAM SAWYER & Co. THOMAS & WHIPPLE, Newburyport.....JOHN PRENTISS, Keene.....CHARLES PEIRCE, THOMAS & TAPPAN, Portsmouth.....ISAAC ADAMS, JOHN JOHNSON, Portland.....EZEKIEL GOODALE, Hallowell.....ISAAC BEAN, Gilmanton.....1807.

Fig. XXIX THE VILLAGE HARMONY: Title Page.

Fig. XXX THE VILLAGE HARMONY : **Editions.**

Date	Ed	T	P	%	E	%	E1	%	E2	%	A	%	A1	%	A2	%
1798	4	150	59	39.3	23	39.0	12	20.3	11	18.6	36	61.0	35	59.3	1	1.7
1800	5	164	69	42.1	31	44.9	16	23.2	15	21.7	38	55.1	37	53.6	1	1.4
1803	6	150	72	48.0	33	45.8	15	20.8	18	25.0	39	54.2	39	54.2	0	0.0
1806	7	171	89	52.0	48	53.9	27	30.3	21	23.6	41	46.1	40	45.0	1	1.1
1807	8	175	93	53.2	50	53.8	29	31.2	21	22.6	43	46.2	42	45.2	1	1.0
1808	9	181	93	51.4	52	55.9	34	36.6	18	19.4	41	44.1	40	43.0	1	1.1
1810	10	223	115	51.6	74	64.3	47	40.9	27	23.5	41	35.7	39	33.9	2	1.7
1813	11	276	125	45.3	99	79.2	58	46.4	41	32.8	26	20.8	24	19.2	2	1.6
1813	11	289	132	45.7	101	76.5	59	44.7	42	31.8	31	23.5	29	22.0	2	1.5
1815	12	298	130	43.6	102	78.5	59	45.4	43	33.1	28	21.5	26	20.0	2	1.5
1816	13	301	131	43.5	101	77.1	59	45.0	42	32.1	30	29.7	28	21.4	2	1.5
1817	14	310	136	43.9	102	75.0	59	43.4	43	31.6	34	25.0	32	23.5	2	1.5
1818	15	319	143	44.8	111	77.6	63	44.1	48	33.5	32	22.4	30	21.0	2	1.4
1819	16	315	128	40.6	98	76.6	57	44.5	41	32.0	30	23.4	28	21.9	2	1.6
1820	17	316	126	39.9	97	77.0	57	45.2	40	31.7	29	23.0	27	21.4	2	1.6

Ranlet formed a network of dealers in key cities throughout eastern New England, providing thereby a wide commercial outlet for his publications. Cities included in 1800 were Exeter, Boston, Salem, Newburyport, Portland, Haverhill, Concord and Portsmouth. By 1807 the list also included Cambridge, Keene, Hallowell and Gilmanton. The direction of distribution was thereby extended into the western and northern sections of New Hampshire and into Maine, at the same time as it was offered for sale by at least nine book dealers in Boston.

The number of tunes increased sharply from 150 in 1798 to 316 in 1820. This substantial increase in the size of the book also included space for some 25 lengthy anthems in the 1820 edition.

The Village Harmony, as might be expected from its non-Boston imprint, included a majority of American tunes in its early editions. By 1807, however, American tunes represented only 46% of the popular tunes in the collection, and continued to decline thereafter to a low of 21% in 1813. After 1813, however, the proportion of American tunes increased slightly and stabilized at about 23%. The Village Harmony was not edited by musicians bent on reforming American church music, however, but by a commercial organization which sought to sell tune-books. The "Advertisement" to the eleventh edition noted that "Many of the light and frivolous pieces of former editions [had] been expunged" and that the improvements effected were as great as possible, giving "due regard to the progressive improvement of the publick taste." This is a clue to the philosophy of the editor. The Village Harmony did not mold taste, but tried to keep in step with it. More than either The Easy Instructor, which remained conservative, or The Columbian and European Harmony, which was a reforming influence during the first decade, The Village Harmony perfectly mirrored the prevailing taste in its region. Its editors were absolutely pragmatic in their assessment and choice of music.

> The public is now offered another edition of the Village Harmony . . .
> . . . Those alterations have been made which correspond to the progressive improvement of the publick taste in Sacred Musick. Classical European tunes have been substituted for some of a less perfect character . . .
> . . . should any of its patrons regret that it has not hitherto excluded all tunes which are not universally considered classical, they are reminded that it circulates over portions of our country, where refinement of taste and opportunities for improvement are necessarily unequal, and the VILLAGE HARMONY by gradually increasing its number of genuine and perfect tunes, has adopted the most effectual, and indeed only practicable method of raising the popular taste to an high and equal standard.[33]

These three widely circulated tune-books are each representative of a different aspect of the problem of changing taste. Since all three were somewhat different, yet equally successful from a commercial point of view, their individual success must be attributed to the ability of each to appeal to the taste requirements prevailing in the particular chronological period and geographical region in which each was published. Further analysis is therefore dependent on an examination of the tune-books in each of the geographical regions in which they were printed.

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[33] Sixteenth edition (Exeter, 1819), "Advertisement."

C. THE ROLE OF THE TUNE-BOOK IN A MOVING POPULATION

The role of the tune-book has been examined in controversies over the reform of musical taste; it is necessary to study its role more closely as it influenced and interacted with changing musical tastes in each of the geographical areas defined in Chapter III. This study attempts to reveal the role of the tune-book in relation to musical taste in each area. In order to trace the changes progressively, the chronological divisions 1801-1810 and 1811-1820 are correlated with the geographical regions. Statistical evidence is based, as in the preceding section, on the comparison of the contents of each tune-book in the structured sample with the most popular list developed earlier.

1. A Chronological Study

The most illuminating demonstration of musical taste is the changing emphasis in the content of the tune-books when compared in five year intervals. The chart below includes all the tune-books in the sample and distinguishes what percentage of popular tunes fall into each of the four classifications outlined in Chapter III. It provides a background which highlights the regional studies which follow.

Fig. XXXI American and European Tunes by Five Year Period

	1801-1805		1806-1810		1811-1815		1816-1820	
T	1212		899		1377		1963	
TP	386	31.8	440	48.9	592	43.0	928	47.3
TE	220	57.0	267	60.7	396	66.9	670	72.2
E-1	124	32.1	158	35.9	219	37.0	381	41.1
E-2	96	24.9	109	24.8	177	29.9	289	31.1
TA	166	43.0	173	39.3	196	33.1	258	27.8
A-1	153	39.6	164	37.3	180	30.4	222	23.9
A-2	13	3.4	9	2.0	16	2.7	36	3.9

Notable is the gradually increasing total number of tunes and the percentage of those tunes which appear on the popular list. This pattern of increase is broken only in the second five year period, when the number of tunes is sharply lower. Public taste demanded familiar tunes, and editors, in order to render their volumes as attractive as possible, included ever larger numbers of familiar and popular tunes, together with their own new compositions.

The number of English tunes rose slightly in the first period, then jumped sharply as reform oriented tastes spread throughout the country. The largest increase is in the old English classification (E-1), although the rural English classification (E-2) also increases. Many of the E-2 tunes were, however, also old tunes, common to both urban and rural English usage.

The percentage of American tunes declined rapidly from nearly one-half of all tunes in the popular list at the outset of the period, to about one-quarter at the close of the period. Only in the folk hymn classification (A-2) is there a modest increase. An important consideration, however, which has been generally overlooked by other observers, is that while the percentage representation of American tunes does decrease sharply, the actual number of American tunes contained in the tune-books actually increases considerably. The 166 American tunes in the period 1801-1805 increases to 258 tunes in the period 1816-1820. This seems to indicate that many of the American tunes continued to find favorable reception among consumers, and that, rather than risk losing the patronage of these customers, publishers simply increased the overall size of their tune-books with large increases in the number of English tunes. Such a plan pleased reformers while it satisfied those who preferred the status quo. A combination of the above chart shows the trends of musical taste for two ten year periods.

Fig. XXXII American and European Tunes by Ten Year Period

	1801-1810		1811-1820	
T	2111		3340	
TP	826	39.1	1520	44.5
E	487	59.0	1066	70.1
E-1	282	34.1	600	39.5
E-2	205	24.8	466	30.7
A	339	41.0	454	29.9
A-1	317	38.4	402	26.4
A-2	22	2.7	52	3.4

Since the sample is structured to represent proportionally the number of tune-books published in each geographical area for each ten year period, the above chart constitutes a mean for the entire publishing area. However, the following breakdown, by geographical region, provides a keener view by distinguishing area variations in the rate and degree of the change of musical taste.

2. A Geographical Study

a. Eastern New England

Eastern New England was the first center of tune-book publication. Here the earliest cry for the institution of "regular singing" had been raised; here most of the native composers of the late eighteenth century had made their homes; here came the first voices seeking a reform of musical taste; here later would be taken the first steps toward popular music education in the public schools. Less advanced during the eighteenth century in the areas of secular music and theater, the energies of its best composers were poured into sacred music, encouraged by the strong Congregational and separatist churches, which continued to exert considerable influence in town government. One half of all the tune-books printed between 1801 and 1810 were printed in this region, and it continued to be the leading area by a wide margin in the next decade.

Boston, as might be expected, was the leading city with Exeter and Dedham trailing far behind.[34] As the leading city, not only in publishing tune-books, but in seafaring contact with London, Boston musicians came into possession of the latest "reformed" London tune-books, containing the older tunes of the great masters. Many of the educated clergy, graduates of New England colleges where musical societies encouraged "classical" church music, eagerly urged that compilers of tune-books include European tunes in their collections and delete the light and frivolous tunes of recent times. A new generation of composers, influenced by the European-trained musician, Hans Gram, gradually increased the number of European tunes in their collections, decreasing the importance of the lighter tunes of Billings, Read and others. As a result, the eastern New England region led the way in what was a major and significant change in musical taste. (See Fig. XXXIII)

Fig. XXXIII Region I Eastern New England

	1801-1810		1811-1820	
T	1318		1206	
TP	487	36.9	610	50.6
E	313	64.3	490	80.3
E-1	177	36.3	264	43.3
E-2	136	27.9	226	37.0
A	174	35.7	120	19.7
A-1	166	34.1	110	18.0
A-2	8	1.6	10	1.6

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[34] Newburyport, a major center of publication under Daniel Bayley from the 1760's, had only five tune-book editions in the period 1801-1820.

In the first decade the proportion of English to American tunes was close to 3:1. During the second decade this rose to better than 4:1 in favor of the European tunes, an overwhelming proportion, twenty points higher than the mean average of all the tunes on the popular list. The tremendous change in taste over a very short period of time is further illustrated by comparing two publications printed in Boston during the 1790's with the same popular list.

Fig. XXXIV Comparison of two Editions printed before 1800

	Harmony of Maine		Worcester Ed. 6		Worcester Ed. 8	
T	57		101		98	
TP	11	19.3	48	47.5	49	50.0
E	3	27.3	18	37.5	23	46.9
E-1	2	18.2	12	25.0	15	30.6
E-2	1	9.1	6	12.5	8	16.3
A	8	72.7	30	62.5	26	53.1
A-1	8	72.7	30	62.5	26	53.1
A-2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

The first, *The Harmony of Maine* (Boston, 1794) by Supply Belcher, was a rural tune-book, edited in Farmington, District of Maine, a village rather remote from Boston standards of taste. In spite of a low percentage of tunes represented on the popular list (19.3%), it can readily be seen that the American tunes outnumber the European by 3:1. Examination of the remaining tunes revealed an even higher proportion. In fact, the title page advertised "a number of FUGING PIECES," stock in trade of the American native composer. Significantly, Isaiah Thomas' sixth edition of the popular *Worcester Collec-*

tion of Sacred Harmony (Boston, 1797), the first to be edited by Oliver Holden and Isaiah Thomas' first attempt at using movable type, is not, considering its fashionable Boston origin, terribly far away from the percentage found in Belcher's volume. American tunes still account for five-eighths of the total popular tunes. While these were not necessarily the same American tunes found in *The Harmony of Maine*, nevertheless they were American and they were contemporary. The eighth edition of the *Worcester Collection* (Boston, 1803) with an even larger representation of popular tunes (50%) marks an abrupt change, with the American tunes reduced sharply to only 53.1%. These early tune-books indicate that within only a ten year period the musical taste of Eastern New England was completely won over to the reformer's point of view.

Tune-books published outside of Boston responded more slowly to this change in proportion to their distance from the leading city and the degree of urbanization in the town or area of publication. Rural people, as in the controversies over "regular" singing and choir seating, were conservative in approaching change—reluctant to give up the status quo—while urban people responded more rapidly to innovation. For example, the *Psalmodist's Assistant* (Boston, 1803) by Abijah Forbush has a ratio of 3:1 in favor of American tunes, while Brown's *Columbian and European Harmony* (Boston, 1802), although printed one year earlier, was 3:1 in favor of European tunes. The heavy emphasis on American tunes found in the Forbush tune-book is explained by the preface, which indicates that the editing took place in Upton, Massachusetts, a small rural village southeast of Worcester. The book was printed in Boston, but edited in Upton. The sharp discrepancy between these two books prompted a test of a thesis that proximity to the city and urban culture facilitated a rapid change of musical taste, while the more rural areas, preferring the status quo, changed more slowly. The following chart divides all tune-books in the Eastern New England sample into those edited in a) Boston, b) other cities or towns, c) rural villages or districts. The results were remarkably consistent in support of the above thesis.

Fig. XXXV American and European Tunes by Rural, Town and City Areas

Area	1801-1810		1811-1820	
	American	European	American	European
a) Boston	27.5	72.5	14.8	85.2
b) Towns	48.9	51.1	15.4	84.6
c) Rural	68.7	31.3	33.6	66.4

Boston (a) had a considerably more European-oriented standard of musical taste in both decades than surrounding areas of the same region, although the influence of Boston on the lesser towns and cities probably explains the rapid changes during the second decade in (b) and (c).

b. Middle Atlantic Region

Musicians moved frequently between New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and England. The cities of the Middle Atlantic region were thus in close touch with one another and with the latest trends in London. A number of English musicians emigrated from England to this region and made important contributions to the musical life. The Anglican church, newly re-organized as the Protestant Episcopal church, had a considerable influence, despite its small numbers, on musical taste. The musical program was supported by such clergymen as the Rev. William Smith, who issued three publications of church music, including _The Churchman's Choral Companion_ (New York, 1809), and Bishop William White, who published "Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches" (Philadelphia, 1808).[35] Benjamin Carr and John Cole held musical posts in the Episcopal church, while Samuel Dyer, Emanuel Kent and James Evans edited tune-books for the rapidly growing Methodist Episcopal church. Urban Methodists continued to use the music and hymns of the Wesleys, the _Harmonia Sacra_ of Thomas Butts (London, 1753; reprinted Andover, Massachusetts, 1816) and other Methodist volumes. The volumes printed especially for churches under the editorship of these compilers had a somewhat higher proportion of English tunes than did the more general tune-books.

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[35] See Chapter II.

Fig. XXXVI American and European Tunes in Tune-books printed particularly for churches

	European	American
Total Sample	60.9	39.1
Church Use	67.7	32.3

Although this region, like Eastern New England, favored the English tunes in each decade of the study, the increase in the second decade does not parallel that of region I. This may be explained by the greater influence of the Second Great Awakening in this region, and the gradual separation of the Methodist movement from the Wesleyan ideals. One finds, for example, that Azariah Fobes' The Delaware Harmony, printed in 1814 is nearly 2:1 in favor of American tunes. This volume, however, was edited in Wilmington, Delaware, rather than in Philadelphia, where it was printed. This further confirms the thesis advanced regarding musical tastes in rural versus urban areas. The rural influence of the surrounding areas seems to have been rather strong, as evidenced by combining the rural English (E-2) and native American (A-1) classifications. This combination, 58.8% in the first decade, actually increased to 59.8% in the second decade. This indicates that, on the average, there is only a slight proportionate increase in the older English tunes (E-1), a subtle but important difference in the musical tastes of region I, where the combination figure declines from 62% to 55%. Another explanation for this resurgence could be the Baltimore and Philadelphia book trade carried on with the German and Scotch-Irish settlements to the west. These groups were conservative in their musical tastes to begin with, and their rural environment made change slow and controversial.

Fig. XXXVII Region II Middle Atlantic Region

	1801-1810		1811-1820	
T	498		892	
TP	211	42.4	323	36.2
E	122	57.8	203	62.8
E-1	79	37.4	124	38.4
E-2	43	20.4	79	24.5
A	89	42.2	120	37.2
A-1	81	38.4	114	35.3
A-2	8	3.8	6	1.9

Folk hymns (A-2) appeared in the first decade, but their importance was not carried into the second decade. By that time the rural taste which preferred folk hymnody had moved on to the west.

Tune-books were distributed and used in some southern cities. Subscribers from Alexandria, Georgetown, Washington, Richmond and even New Orleans were listed in the subscription list of Samuel Dyer's New Selection of Sacred Music (Baltimore, 1817). They were occasionally advertised in bookstores or newspapers. The Knoxville Gazette, July 28, 1792, advertised "Hymn Books and Philadelphia Harmony" as being for sale.[36] Although several tune-books may have been edited in southern cities, none are known to have been printed there. The Preface of The United States Sacred Harmony (Boston, 1799) was dated Charleston, South Carolina, July 1799. Charles Southgate, a teacher of singing schools in Richmond, edited the Harmonia Sacra (New York, 1818) which was published posthumously. Singing schools were held in Savannah, Georgia, and the Midway Community of former Dorchester Puritans continued to sing the old fuging-tunes.[37] The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser (July 15, 1795), Richmond, advertised that "Robert Gamble, has just received . . . Law's Church Music."[38]

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[36] Emma Katherine Crews, "A History of Music in Knoxville, Tennessee: 1791-1910" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, 1961), p. 5.

c. Western New England and New York State

Tune-books published in Region III were direct descendants of the Eastern New England tune-books. Appearing first in the older centers of Northampton, Hartford and Albany, by the second decade tune-books were being printed in central New York towns, such as Ithaca and Utica. Although eastern tune-books were imported and sold in bookstores, printing did not begin in a given area until a printer, usually with some interest in music, obtained a font of type and began to issue tune-books. Two such printers were Andrew Wright of Northampton, and William Williams of Utica. Wright was responsible between 1801 and 1809 for the printing of at least thirteen, and possibly more, of nineteen tune-books in the bibliography listed as published in Northampton. After 1809 virtually no tune-books were printed in Northampton for the remainder of the period. Thus a single printer considerably influenced the role of the tune-book in a given region. Williams (1787-1850) was a printer and bookseller in Utica starting in 1807. He became a publisher in the partnership of Seward and Williams in 1814 and continued in various business combinations until 1840. He alone was responsible for the entire output of thirteen tune-book issues, all in the short space of five years, 1815-1820. Many of the editions were publications compiled by Thomas Hastings, one of the most important and prolific figures of the next several decades in American church music. Hastings was just getting his start at this time. He and Williams were instrumental in bringing reform to New York State, for The Easy Instructor, which appeared in many issues in Albany, was, as indicated earlier, not in the forefront of musical reform. Tune-books from Boston were imported into the area by Williams, and undoubtedly influenced the taste of the region. Williams' advertisement in the paper cover of the 1816 edition of Musica Sacra noted the following musical works "on hand for sale:"

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[37] Jack W. Broucek, "Eighteenth Century Music in Savannah, Georgia" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, 1962), pp. 84, 180.

[38] Albert L. Stoutamire, "A History of Music in Richmond, Virginia from 1742 to 1865" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, 1960), p. 77.

Kollman's Essay on Musical Harmony,
Calcott's Musical Grammar,
Musica Sacra,
Christian Sabbath,
Hallelujah Chorus,
Instrumental Preceptor,
Violin, Flute, Fife, Hautboy, and Clarinet Preceptor
The Lord's Prayer, by the celebrated Mr. Cooke, of Dublin
Flute Melodies,
Hastings' Musical Reader,
Harmonia Sacra,
Songs of the Temple,
Atwell's Sacred Harmony,
Lock Hospital,
Handel's Messiah,
Little and Smith's Easy Instructor,
Worcester's Christian Psalmody,
Almsted's Musical Olio

This was an impressive array of musical materials for a bookseller who also stocked a wide assortment of American and European books in all fields.

As in the more rural areas of the Eastern New England region, the taste for American tunes lingered throughout the predominantly rural western region of New England during the early period, with a sharp change during the second decade. Especially noteworthy was Solomon Howe's *Farmer's Evening Entertainment* (Northampton, 1804), edited at Greenwich, Massachusetts, containing mostly self-composed tunes, all American. This book was designed to sell for a quarter and listed sales outlets in cities throughout the country; there is no indication, however, that its homespun style attracted many buyers. Sharply contrasting was Samuel Willard's *Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music* (Greenfield, 1814). Willard, among his many interests, was quite interested in the improvement of musical standards, printing several discourses which he delivered as musical lectures.

> It is not sufficient, that we banish those tunes, which are absolutely *worthless*; a mockery of all seriousness and common sense. It is not enough, that every tune be in itself good, and that it be sung in the most harmonious manner imaginable. There must be *appropriateness* both in adaptation and performance . . .[39]

There can be little doubt that he "practiced what he preached" for 92% of the popular tunes in the *Deerfield Collection* were English. Moreover all of the tunes in the volume were well-known, an unusually high 72% appearing on the popular list.

Fig. XXXVIII Region III Western New England
and New York State

	1801-1810		1811-1820	
T	295		612	
TP	128	43.4	311	50.8
E	52	40.6	236	75.9
E-1	26	20.3	137	44.1
E-2	26	20.3	99	31.8
A	76	59.4	75	24.1
A-1	70	54.7	69	22.2
A-2	6	4.7	6	1.9

This chart indicates an overwhelming change of taste from a strong preference for American tunes (59.4% in the first decade, to an even stronger preference for European tunes (75.9%) in the second decade. The greatest increase occurs in classification E-1, while

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[39] Samuel Willard, "The Expediency and Proper Application of Sacred Music. A Discourse preached at Heath." (Deerfield, 1816).

American folk tunes decline. This remarkable and rapid change in taste is attributable to the population movements westward from eastern New England, and the circulation of eastern tune-books edited by reformers.

d. Western and Southwestern Areas

The pattern of settlement makes this region necessarily a rather extensive and inclusive one. Tune-book editions began to be printed in Harrisburg as early as 1810 (Wyeth's Repository) and in Pittsburgh in 1814 (Freeman Lewis' Beauties of Harmony). A small tune-book issued as early as 1804, The Cumberland Melodist, presumably by John M'Carrell of Shippensburg, was printed in Philadelphia by William M'Culloch. About the size of the popular gamuts, it contained 57 tunes in two parts, with a 3:2 ratio in favor of European tunes. Moreover the collection used standard notation, since shape notes had not yet become widely used. This volume is, therefore, an exception, for in the western areas nearly all of the tune-books were printed in the last six years of this study and used shape note notation. Of 29 tune-books in the bibliography, 19 were published in the last 5 years of this study, including all those printed in Ohio, Kentucky and Western Virginia.[40] One volume was edited as far west as St. Louis[41] although it was printed in Cincinnati. By the close of the second decade, Missouri had been admitted to the Union, Methodists had canvassed the entire area of settlement, and religious enthusiasm had greatly aided as well as splintered the Christian movement throughout the West. Missionary societies of the various denominations and the great interdenominational church societies had begun to penetrate the western areas in anticipation of the "Great Valley" campaign of the following decade.

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[40] In the following decade the number of tune-books increased sharply as cities such as Cincinnati became printing and publishing centers for the west.

The tune-books published in this region reflect the widely varied and rapidly changing tastes of the unstable population. The results of the sample are as follows:[42]

Fig. XXXIX Region IV Western and Southwestern

	1811-1820		*
T	498		
TP	231	46.4	
E	118	51.1	-9.4
E-1	63	27.3	-9.5
E-2	55	23.8	+0.1
A	113	48.9	+9.4
A-1	85	36.8	+3.6
A-2	28	12.1	+5.8

*Departure from norms for popular list.

Aside from Region V which is German-speaking and might otherwise be included as part of Region IV, no other region boasts a higher percentage of American tunes in its books than the Western region. The mean percentage of American tunes in the popular list is 39.5%. Regions IV and V are the only ones to exceed that percentage. The Western region thus shows a heavy emphasis on American tunes in relation to other regions. This fact is reinforced when one considers that classification E-2 (Rural English) is also slightly above the mean, and that the sampled volumes represent only the second decade of the nineteenth century. The mean for American tunes in all regions for the second decade is only 29.9%, thus making a spread of nearly 20 percentage points between the mean and the Western region.

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[41] Allen D. Carden, The Missouri Harmony (1820).

[42] Note that no tune-books appear in the sample for the period 1801-1810.

This spread is so significant that it is further tested against a larger number of publications, since only 4 tune-books represent the entire region in the geographic sample. The figures below are those for nine tune-books, including those in the original sample, from Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Harrisonburg, Winchester, Cincinnati and St. Louis.

Fig. XL American and European Tunes in Western Tune-books

		European	American	A-2
*(1) Harrisburg	1813	50.0	50.0	30.0
(2) Harrisburg	1820	42.9	57.1	2.6
(3) Pittsburgh	1816	65.1	34.9	6.0
*(4) Pittsburgh	1816	49.4	50.6	7.1
(5) Cincinnati	1816	81.4	18.6	0.0
*(6) Cincinnati	1820	58.4	41.6	10.0
(7) Harrisonburg	1817	31.3	68.8	10.4
(8) Winchester	1817	67.6	32.4	8.9
*(9) Winchester	1818	33.3	66.7	18.5
MEAN		53.3	46.7	10.4

*Tune-books included in the structured sample.

Key to Titles:

1. Wyeth. Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second.
2. Wyeth. Repository of Sacred Music, Ed. 5.
3. Armstrong. The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm Tunes.
4. Lewis. The Beauties of Harmony, Ed. 2.
5. Flint. The Columbian Harmonist.
6. Metcalf. The Kentucky Harmonist, Ed. 2.
7. Davisson. The Kentucky Harmony, Ed. 2.
8. Gillet. The Virginia Sacred Minstrel.
9. Boyd. The Virginia Sacred Minstrel.

It can be seen first that this closer examination supports the proportions of the smaller sample very closely, indicating a divergence of only two percentage points. Second, however, one notes the extremely wide divergence in the tastes represented by tune-books published not only in the same city or town, but practically at the same time. For example, two tune-books published in Pittsburgh in 1816 have American percentages of 34.9% and 50.6% respectively. This sharp clash in taste between tune-books is an extremely interesting phenomenon not often found in regions I or II; it represents clearly the emergence of a dichotomous shift in types of tune-books, created by two conflicting traditions of musical taste.

The publications of John Wyeth, for example, stand somewhere between these two traditions, catering to each. Wyeth included a large number of American folk hymns (A-2) in Part Second, and a large number of American native tunes (A-1) in "Part First," as described earlier in this chapter; he also includes, however, a number of English tunes, mostly from the rural English classification. Principally, Wyeth's tunes are popular, about half of his tunes appearing on the popular list. Irving Lowens has demonstrated the influence of Wyeth's tune-books on a number of southern tune-books. Among these tune-books are two of those examined above, by Boyd and Davisson. It is no coincidence that these two are lowest in proportion of European tunes and highest in proportion of American folk hymns. Metcalf's tune-book, mentioned briefly by Jackson[43] is not of the same category; it includes a large percentage of European tunes. While it does include an above average number of folk hymns, this is not inconsistent with many western books published after 1820.

Timothy Flint's Columbian Harmonist, on the other hand, matches the most parnassian Boston tune-book. The tune-book includes his "Dissertation Upon the True Taste in Church Music," already quoted in the debate on the reform movement. Wheeler Gillet had recently migrated from Baltimore, bringing the more English tastes of that eastern city with him. Eastern musical tastes were thus directly juxtaposed with rural and folk musical tastes in the western region.

The role of the tune-book reached, in this situation, a point of changing emphasis. The same role of the tune-book as known in eighteenth century New England continued to be played in tune-books published by and for the rural folk, who retreated before the onrush of urban institutions and tastes: that is, it included psalm and hymn tunes, harmonized simply, for the singing use of modestly literate individuals, in church, in families, in singing clubs or societies, and individually. Although the tunes changed, with the inclusion of a larger proportion of folk hymns and tunes, the role continued to be about the same as it had been for sixty years—essentially religious, fusing sacred and secular elements into a spiritual blend—notably pragmatic, emphasizing simplicity and facility—tolerably social, promoting personal and group contacts, again sacred as well as profane.

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[43] White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands (Hatboro, Pa., 1964; 1933), pp. 42-43.

The urbanized, "reformed" tune-books, by contrast, rapidly developed the educational role of their eighteenth century predecessors, on the one hand, and a new liturgical role on the other. Most of this story, however, must be left to the next decade, when the tune-book developed in two directions: first, under the leadership of Lowell Mason, the urban tune-book became a school song book for the instruction of students in the fundamentals of music, and second, it became a denominational hymnal, the music combined with the words. These developments are not fully accomplished until the 1850's, but the divergent path of these changing roles is clearly seen in the transitional period 1800-1820. When these changes were complete, the role of the older form of tune-book, as described in this dissertation, was, for all practical purposes, no longer important in urban society.

e. German-speaking areas

This region, including eastern Pennsylvania and extending to parts of Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio and other sections of the west, is not geographically distinct from regions III and IV, but is distinguished by the language barrier which seemed to separate the German communities to some extent from the English communities. It should be noted at the outset that relatively few German tune-book publications are listed in the bibliography, and most of these are denominational hymnals containing only a few tunes, usually unharmonized. On the whole, the hymnals included only text with no tunes, a practice common to English hymnals. The Lutheran and Reformed churches were the largest bodies, with the sectarian groups, principally the Mennonites and Moravians, also of importance.

The official Lutheran hymnal was Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung, first published by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1786. It appeared in at least seven editions before 1820, but none contained music. However, a Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung was authorized and printed in 1813. It contained 270 tunes. The general knowledge of the traditional chorale made use of a tune-book unnecessary except for the organist. Traditionally, therefore, tune-books with a melody and figured bass were printed privately by an organist or director of music in one of the larger German churches.[44] Thus, unlike the English, the

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[44] Carlton York Smith, "Early Lutheran Hymnody in America" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1956), Chapter XVII.

Germans did not have a well developed tradition of tune-book publication for the use of students in singing schools.

The Reformed church hymnal was Das Neue Und Verbesserte Gesangbuch, first published in Philadelphia in 1797. Five issues appeared by 1820, although the 1813 issue contained no music. The other editions contained only a few single line melodies, and its use as a tune-book for singing schools or choirs seems unlikely.

The Mennonite hymnal was traditionally the Ausbund, first printed in Europe in the sixteenth century. This book contained no music, but the name of the proper tune was suggested at the head of each hymn. This book is still used today by the Old Order Amish, qualifying it as the oldest hymnal in continuous usage in the Christian church.[45] The first Mennonite hymnal published in America was Die Kleine geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zions, oder auserlesene Geistreiche Gesänge (1803). This volume contained single line melodies for 22 psalms in the first 39 pages. The second section of the book, "Sammlung Alter und Neuen Geistreichen Gesänge," contained no music. Another hymnal, Ein Neues, Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch, contained 76 tunes, many of them German chorales.[46]

It can readily be seen that materials for singing schools and church choirs, other than for unison singing,[47] were not to be found in the official publications. Singing was, however, considered an important part of religious instruction, and was included in the school curriculum. The typical parochial schools of the Reformed church, for example, taught "reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and religious instruction, the latter including singing."[48] In fact, it is believed a considerable amount of time was devoted to singing. Mennonite education was based on the principles of Christopher Dock, who had included singing among a long list of educational concerns.[49] Lutheran schoolmasters were publically examined in several branches of learning, one of which was music.[50] Contact with English singing practices undoubtedly was influential in stimulating singing schools during the early nineteenth century. Practices differed in the various denominations. Moravians used instruments and concerted anthems in worship, while Mennonites did not use a choir but a circumvential "Singer-Tisch," or special singer's table at which those who led the singing were prestigiously seated.[51]

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[45] Paul Marvin Yoder, "Nineteenth Century Sacred Music of the Mennonite Church in the United States" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1961), p. 15.

[46] Ibid., p. 27.

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[47] Unison singing was practiced in sixteenth century Germany, but was largely supplanted in Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by elaborate three and four part harmonizations by Praetorius, Schein, Crüger, Hassler, and Bach, among others, which were sung by the choir.

[48] Robert B. Brown and Frank X. Braun, "The Tunebook of Conrad Doll," A Separate from *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLII, No. 3 (1948), pp. 6-7.

[49] Karl Massanari, "The Contributions of Christopher Dock to contemporary Christian Education," *Mennonite Quaterly Review*, XXV, No. 2 (April, 1951), p. 107.

[50] Charles Lewis Maurer, *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 265-267.

The first attempt to provide a music book came from Conrad Doll. His Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder Nebst Melodien (Lancaster, 1798) presented the music in parts together with several stanzas of text.[52] A Preface written by Rev. Christian Ludwig Becker, the local pastor, noted that the reason for the lagging singing accomplishments of German-American students is that the music books had to be written by hand.[53] This is certainly true, for numerous manuscript tune-books have been discovered, particularly from German areas. Many are undated, but generally appear to be from the early nineteenth century period. Their usual pattern was a title page in freehand, often elaborately drawn, with a German title such as "Harmonische melodeyen Büchlein"[54] or "Noten Büchlein." Many contained harmonized versions of the tunes in two, three or four parts.[55]

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[51] Yoder, "Sacred Music of the Mennonite Church," p. 8.

[52] Brown, "The Tunebook of Conrad Doll," p. 4.

[53] Ibid., p. 5.

[54] By Hanna Appel. Contains 32 chorale melodies. DLC

[55] Yoder, "Sacred Music of the Mennonite Church," p. 83, fn.

Doll, thus, was apparently trying to fill a need for printed music. Becker's Preface noted further that if encouragement be provided "he [Doll] is resolved to furnish continuations in similar volumes until this work has reached a degree of perfection that approaches the best German works of this kind."[56] The volume did not receive encouragement, however, and no editions followed. In fact, only two known copies exist today.[57] Curiously, another tune-book did not appear until Joseph Doll's Leichter Unterricht in Der Vocal Musik (Harrisburg, 1810). This volume was closely patterned after The Easy Instructor, of Little & Smith, employing the four-shape system. It contained mainly chorale tunes in two and three parts preceded by a theoretical section. The second edition (1814) revealed the English-speaking influence, for the names of a few of the tunes, such as "Cambridge," "Confidence," "Bridgewater," "New Jerusalem," "Lenox" and "Symphony" are also listed in English at the head of the tune. The second volume in 1815 listed both German and English titles in the Index for 62 tunes.

Another tune-book was Joseph Funk's Die Allgemein Nützliche Choral Music published in Harrisonburg, Virginia in 1816. Funk had gone to Harrisonburg in the 1780's with the German migration, where, in addition to his musical and farming activities, he operated a printing business.[58] The Choral Music was a joint enterprise, much of the cost paid by Dr. Salomon Henkel, a Lutheran, and the Foreword written by Johannes Braun, Reformed minister.[59] The foreward, reminiscent of the 1720's in New England, said:

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[56] Brown, "The Tunebook of Conrad Doll," p. 5.

[57] Ibid., p. 4.

> . . . it is to be regretted that we Germans, especially in this locality, have become so unlearned in the practice of vocal art and singing. . . . Nowhere is this more noticeable and annoying than in public meeting and more or less in all religious gatherings. There are many people, and through the scarcity of singing schools the number becomes imminently larger, who never open their mouth to sing. Others, however, sing with such an unpleasant tone and create harsh dischords that both the song service and the devotional period are disturbed if not entirely broken up.[60]

Funk's later publications went into the English language.

Other regional tune-books include the Choral-Harmonie compiled by Isaac Gerhart and Johan Eyer (Harrisburg, 1818), and two important volumes printed just after the end of this period: The American Harmonist (Harrisburg, 1821) by Stephen St. John, and Die Franklin Harmonie (Harrisburg, 1821) by Johannes Rothbaust. St. John conducted many singing schools throughout Chester, Montgomery and Lancaster counties in Pennsylvania early in the nineteenth century.[61]

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[58] Yoder, "Sacred Music of the Mennonite Church," p. 92.

[59] Ibid., p. 93.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Stephen St. John," in The Pennsylvania Dutchman, IV, No. 13 (March 1, 1953), p. 3.

On the whole, however, relatively few printed tune-books were issued in the German-speaking areas until after 1820. The great German singing school movement was really only beginning at the end of the period of this study. By mid-century there was considerable singing activity. The tune-book adapted to a bilingual role, breaking the language barrier which isolated German singing schools from those of the English main stream. Such tune-books as Die Pennsylvanische Choral Harmonie, first published in 1844 by Thomas R. Weber, and Die Union Choral Harmonie (Harrisburg, 1833) by Henry C. Eyer appeared in many editions, testifying to the widespread success of the bilingual tune-book. These books form the basis for yet another study of the tune-book in America.

Since most of the tunes in the German books were chorale melodies, intended for singing with the lyric German hymns, a valid comparison with the standard English tunes is not very profitable. However, Doll's Leichter Unterricht Volume II (1815) does appear in the sample, and to the extent that it contains English titles, the results appear in Figure XLI.

Fig. XLI American and European tunes in Joseph Doll's Leichter Unterricht (1815)

T	132/62		
TP	45	72.6	-10.2
E	19	42.2	-18.3
E-1	12	26.7	-10.1
E-2	7	15.6	- 8.1
A	26	57.8	+18.3
A-1	24	53.3	+20.1
A-2	2	4.4	- 1.9

From a total of 132 tunes, 62 are given both German and English titles. Of those 62, a total of 45 appear on the list of most popular tunes, an unusually high percentage of 72.6%. This indicates that the English tunes were chosen selectively from among those tunes most heard in the English-speaking churches. The contact was through rural churches, for the proportion of American tunes (57.8%) is 20 points higher than that classification in the overall popular list. In fact the statistics compare remarkably with those for Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music (1810).

Fig. XLII Comparison of Wyeth's Repository and Doll's Leichter Unterricht

	Wyeth	Doll
American tunes	57.6	57.8
European tunes	42.4	42.2

John Wyeth was the printer and publisher of both volumes, thus exert-ing his influence not only upon the south-western folk hymnals, but also upon the German-speaking tune-books. The conservative nature of the German-speaking publications is shown by Rothbaust's Die Franklin Harmonie in which, as late as 1821, 50% of the most popular tunes with English titles were from classificationsA-1 or A-2.

D. CONCLUSION

The tune-book has been shown to be a significant and informative form of publication. Although the tune-book is fascinating as an antiquarian study, this dissertation has focused on particular roles or functions of that publication in early nineteenth century American culture, and has sought to show how those roles were affected by passing time and shifting place. Spreading from New England, the tune-book was widely circulated as far west as St. Louis by 1820.

In the homes, churches and schools of American Protestants, the publication fulfilled a practical worship need for choral literature and the singing of psalmody and hymnody. It served as a medium of popular education for pupils enrolled in the large number of singing schools and choral societies, and further as a focal point for recreational socialization activities. It was also a business staple for a modest number of publishers and a larger number of book-dealers. Most importantly, the tune-book became a forum for the unresolved aesthetic controversy surrounding the use of Native versus European art.

The aesthetic controversy is best expressed in the compositions and essays found in the tune-books published from the 1770's to about 1820 by two generally defined groups of compilers.[62]

A native American group of composers represented a generally untrained approach to composition, with tastes based upon the English books brought to New England in the mid-eighteenth century, roughened somewhat by the distinctive evolution which took place under local conditions. These composers were most influential in the period before 1800.

A second group consisted of a number of composers who, while essentially from the same musical tradition as the first group, reacted to the standards of that group. Gaining a limited amount of theoretical knowledge of musical composition, the second group rejected the fuging style and composed tunes more reserved and sophisticated. It sought a return to the older solemn tunes. This group was ascendant in the period after 1800.

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[62] Relford Patterson presents an interesting approach to the problem of conflicting musical tastes in "Three American 'Primitives': A Study of the Musical Style of Hans Gram, Oliver Holden and Samuel Holyoke" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1963). In this study he defines two classes of musical primitivism in New England during this period 1786-1820. Both groups are considered primitive. Both operate within a narrow range of possibility in comparison to the fine-art musicians of Europe, and exhibit characteristics typical of primitivism in art. The music is designed to stir the emotions rather than the mind and is thus generally anti-intellectual; it makes use of indigenous materials for its thematic and constructive principles and has a rambling structure with "large areas of undifferentiated color."

During the period of this study, 1800-1820, the standards of the second group gradually became dominant in the urban areas. In the rural areas to the west and south, however, the standards of the first group were remarkably tenacious. In fact, and this has been demonstrated conclusively in the foregoing sections, the musical style of the first group gave ground exceedingly grudgingly, moving along the line of least resistance to the south and west. So long as these two styles were in contact with one another, bitterness and conflict occurred. When the two styles moved apart geographically, as they did in the post-1820 period, the conflict diminished. Today reports indicate that the older native style continues to exist in isolated areas of the nation, in spite of television exposure, with little apparent conflict. But the critical period 1800-1820 is one of considerable conflict, and thus a transitional and crucial period in the story of the American tune-book.

Although the printing and use of the tune-book eventually declined, the form remains important for the roles it played in the culture, as an index to the complexities of American artistic life of the period, and as a force in shaping and influencing attitudes toward the arts which are still felt in America today. By approaching the tune-book in these capacities, this study has been able to show one way in which cultural values are transmitted from one area to another and the social and geographical bases for diversity in levels of taste. In a larger sense, the study of the tune-book has contributed to our knowledge of the paradoxical state of American cultural life in the critical formative period of the early nineteenth century.

APPENDIX A

A CHECKLIST BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TUNE-BOOKS: 1801-1820

The following bibliography was prepared as an important and necessary part of this dissertation. It is a checklist of known tune-books published in the United States between 1801 and 1820, and a continuation of the excellent bibliography of American tune-books and sacred music through 1800 prepared by Allen P. Britton as part of his unpublished doctoral dissertation "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-books to 1800," (1949). The present bibliography follows a similar arrangement, although material from the theoretical introductions ("rudiments of music") is not presented. The list is undoubtedly incomplete, for an undetermined number of editions have been lost or destroyed. Others may be lying on shelves in private collections or private attics awaiting discovery or destruction. It is believed, however, that this list as it appears is sufficiently complete to form a significantly representative basis for an authoritative study.

The bibliography contains only tune-books, although several different types of such books are represented.[1] These different types include 1) hymnals which include music; most of these are German-language hymnals in which a one-line melody accompanies the text to which it was to be sung; 2) instruction books in the rudiments of music which contain psalm tunes; 3) gamuts, containing a brief section of rudiments, occasionally a few tunes, and a number of staff-lined manuscript pages for the use of students; 4) books of anthems designed for more advanced singing schools or choirs; 5) books of service music, including chants, litanies and masses, intended for use in liturgical churches; 6) oblong tune-books usually containing some rudimentary instruction and a varying number of plain psalm tunes, hymn tunes, and anthems or set pieces. The last named category is the largest group by a considerable margin, and represents the normal or "typical" form for the tune-book. All of the above forms, however, were used as tune-books in varying circumstances.

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[1] See Chapter III.

Not included in this bibliography are 1) psalters and hymnals which do not include music; 2) sacred sheet music; 3) pamphlet publications of anthems or set pieces of only a few pages length, intended for a special occasion; 4) instruction books containing no psalm tunes or anthems; 5) publications of European oratorios; 6) tune-books with non-American imprints; and 7) manuscript tune-books.

The purpose of this bibliography and those which follow in Appendix B and C is to provide a reasonably complete body of source material for a precise and accurate study of the tune-book and its role in American culture. A reading of the titles alone affords a good idea of the nature of the tune-book and its functions in society. Still further, the bibliography indicates the relative importance and distribution of a form of publication not generally known and little understood by historians of American culture.

While practical considerations barred an exhaustive search through all libraries known to have tune-books, examination of the following major sources was undertaken with highly satisfactory results. Library sources thoroughly examined included the unsurpassed collections of the American Antiquarian Society and the Library of Congress music division, the partially catalogued collection of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and uncatalogued collection of the Fackenthal library of Franklin and Marshall College, the Union Theological Seminary and American Hymn Society Collections, and the New York Public Library collection at Lincoln Center. Supplemental materials or information were obtained from the Newberry Library, Chicago; Allegheny College Library, Meadville; Adriance Memorial library, Poughkeepsie; the Congregational Library, Boston; the Library Company of Philadelphia; the John Hay library of Brown University, Providence; the New York Historical Society; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Harvard University libraries; the Connecticut State library, Hartford; Yale University library, New Haven; the Henry E. Huntington library, San Marino; Boston Public Library; Rutgers University library, New Brunswick; and the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Secondary sources consulted containing bibliographies of tune-books were:

James Warrington. *Short Titles of Books Relating to or Illustrating the History and Practice of Psalmody in the United States: 1620-1820* (Philadelphia, 1898).

Frank J. Metcalf. *American Psalmody, or Titles of Books, Containing Tunes Printed In American from 1721 to 1820* (New York, 1917).

Waldo Selden Pratt. "Tune-Books," in *American Supplement* to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York, 1920), pp. 385-392.

Irving Lowens. "The Easy Instructor (1798-1831): A History and Bibliography of the First Shape-Note Tune-Book," in *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York, 1964), pp. 115-137; 292-310.

Allen P. Britton. "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, 1949).

Joyce Ellen Mangler. "Andrew Law—Musical Reformer" (unpublished Master's Thesis, 1956).

Ralph R. Shaw & Richard H. Shoemaker. *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist,* 1801-1819 (New York, 1958-1965).

The form followed in this bibliography is as follows: Unlocated titles are given a short bibliographical entry; located titles have a full title page entry. This full entry includes title page text, [excluding only quotations, poetry or diagrams included for artistic effect or design], number of pages, size and shape, various editions of the work, and library location symbols for location of copies. The location symbols are those uniformly used by the *National Union Catalogue;* a key to these symbols is found in most libraries. This bibliography does not attempt to list all the copies available.

APPENDIX A

ADDINGTON, STEPHEN (English, 1729-1796)

1. "SACRED MUSIC, No. 1 containing Psalm and Hymn Tunes now used at the Independent Tabernacle at Philadelphia . . . Philadelphia" [1807?].

   Addington published several collections in London during the 1790's. Pratt lists this edition in *American Music and Musicians*, p. 388. *National Union Catalogue* lists *A Collection of Approved Anthems*, 2nd ed. (London, 1795), and *The Rev. Dr. Addington's Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, 15th ed. (London, 17-).
   PU

2. "A VALUABLE SELECTION OF PSALM AND HYMN TUNES from the Most Esteemed English Authors . . . and now used by the Congregation at the Independent Tabernacle in Philadelphia . . . Philadelphia: Matthew Carey, 1808." PPL

   First printed in London in 1792. See Metcalf, *American Writers*, 173. *American Psalmody*, p. 9, says "perhaps identical with [1]."

ADGATE, ANDREW (d. 1793)

1. A. "PHILADELPHIA HARMONY .... [Seventh edition?] . . . Philadelphia: Matthew Carey [1801]." 110 pp. CtY PHi

   Earlier editions published in 1788, 1790, 1791, 1799.

   B. "PHILADELPHIA HARMONY, or, A Collection of PSALM TUNES, HYMNS, and ANTHEMS, / Selected/ By A. ADGATE:/ Together With/ The RUDIMENTS OF MUSIC ON A NEW and Improved Plan. / BY A. ADGATE, P. U. A. / Philadelphia: Printed for and Sold by Matthew Carey, / No. 118 Market Street." [1803].

   [Second t. p.]

   "RUDIMENTS OF MUSIC:/ By Andrew Adgate, / Late President of the Uranian Academy. / The Eighth Edition, /

Enlarged by the Addition of an ANTHEM from sundry scriptures, and the old British mode of Solfaing. / Philadelphia:/ Printed for, and sold by Matthew Carey, No. 118, Market-Street. / August, 1803. / (Copyright secured according to Act of Congress.)"

[Third t. p.]

"PHILADELPHIA HARMONY, or, a collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems . . . Part II."

t. p. [1]; Introduction, 3-18; music 21-76; t. p. [77], music, 79-110. NN MWA PLF

This edition contains all the tunes and anthems from the 1791 edition except one (Psalm 149), and adds 31 new pieces. Thus a basically conservative book.

C. "PHILADELPHIA HARMONY . . . [Same t. p. as 1803 ed.]

[Second t. p.]

"RUDIMENTS OF MUSIC . . . [same as 1803 ed. except] The Ninth Edition, . . . Philadelphia:/ Printed for and sold by Matthew Carey, No. 122, Market-Street. / March, 1807."

[Third t. p.]

"PHILADELPHIA HARMONY . . . Part II."

This edition is identical with the 1803 edition. [1], 3-15, [16], 21-76, [77] - 110. 14.5 x 23 cm DLC MWA MHi

D. "PHILADELPHIA HARMONY . . . [1811]," John Jenkins Husband Ed. Not located. American Psalmody says [c. 1808].

AITKEN, JOHN (c. 1745-1831)

1. "A COMPILATION OF THE LITANIES, VESPERS, HYMNS AND ANTHEMS as they are Sung in the Catholic Church." [Philadelphia, 1814.]

Noted by Ellinwood as published 1787, 1791 and 1814. Pratt does not list an 1814 edition, however, and no copy has been found. Contained hymns in English identical with those sung in contemporary protestant services.

ALBEE, AMOS (1722-?)

1. "THE NORFOLK COLLECTION OF SACRED HARMONY . . . Printed typographically, at the music press of H. Mann, Dedham, and for sale at his bookstore, and at the bookstores in Boston. 1805." 13 x 22.5 cm 48 pp. DLC MWA MdHi

2. [See Oliver Shaw.]

ALLEN, FRANCIS D. (fl. 1818)

1. "The/ NEW-YORK SELECTION OF/ SACRED MUSIC,/ containing/ A Great Number of plain Tunes, carefully arranged, and particularly designed for/ CHURCH WORSHIP,/ and generally suited to the several metres in the/ PSALMS AND HYMNS USED IN THE DUTCH CHURCH./ To which is added/ AN APPENDIX,/ Containing/ BOTH PLAIN AND REPEATING TUNES,/ Intended for the various metres in Watts, Dwight, Dobell, Rippon, and others./ The whole of the Work has been carefully compiled from the best American and European Authors./ BY F. D. ALLEN./ Copy Right secured./ 1818./ Sold at R. M'Dermut's Book-Store, 222 Pearl-street, at W. B. Gilley's 32 and 265 Broadway, at J. C. Totten's No. 9 Bowery, and/ at the principal Bookstores in the city."/ New York/ 14 x 23.5 cm. 106 pp. MWA ICN

[Other editions 1823, 1828 and to 1833]

AMERICAN MUSICAL MAGAZINE

"THE AMERICAN MUSICAL MAGAZINE, OR, REPOSITORY OF SACRED MUSIC . . . Published Under the Direction of the Hampshire Musical Society. Printed (typographically), at Northampton, By Andrew Wright. By Whom Subscriptions and Pieces for This Work, Are Thankfully Received. MDCCI."

Issued as follows; No. 1, October 1800, 24 pp.; No. 2, January 1801, 25-48 pp.; No. 3, April 1801, 49-72 pp.; No. 4, July 1801, 73-94 pp. This is not the same as the publication of the same title by Daniel Read and Amos Doolittle published in 1786 and 1787.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN (fl. 1816)

1. "THE/ PITTSBURGH SELECTION OF PSALM TUNES:/ or/ Ancient Church Music Revived./ Containing/ A Variety of Plain Psalm Tunes, The Most Suitable To Be Used in Divine Service./ To Which is Annexed,/ A few Pieces, of a more delicate construction, proper to be performed by a Choir of good Musicians./ BY JOHN ARMSTRONG, Teacher of Mathematics./ PITTSBURGH,/ Published by Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, Franklin Bookstore, Market Street./ Robert Ferguson and Co. Printers . . . 1816." 111 pp. DLC

ATWILL, THOMAS H.

1. A. "THE/ NEW-YORK COLLECTION/ of/ SACRED HARMONY,/ Containing/ The necessary RULES of MUSIC with a variety of/ PSALM & HYMN TUNES SET PIECES & ANTHEMS./ Many of which are Original/ Compiled for the use of Worshiping Assemblies & Singing Societies/ From the most approved Ancient & Modern Authors:/ By/ THOMAS H. ATWILL./ Published according to Act of Congress./ Engraved for the Editor by Abner Reed, Lansingburg 1802." 112 pp. CtY

   Pratt notes as early as 1794. Early name of "New York and Vermont Collection" which includes all but 12 tunes from this edition.

   B. "THE/ NEW YORK & VERMONT COLLECTION/ of/ SACRED HARMONY,/ containing/ The necessary RULES OF MUSIC with a variety of/ Psalm & Hymn Tunes, Set - pieces & Anthems;/ Many of which are Original:/ Compiled for the Use of Worshiping Assemblies & Singing Societies,/ From the most approved Antient [sic] & Modern Authors,/ By/ THOMAS H. ATWILL./ ALBANY Printed by the Proprietor Sec^{d} Edt^{n} B. Buckley [1804] engraved 112 pp. MWA DLC

   C. [Same as B except has dedication p. ix dated "Albany 1805"] CtHC

D. Same as above except names "Backus & Whiting, No. 45 State Street" added. This added t.p. could not have been earlier than 1806 when Backus & Whiting went into partnership. NH1

E. t.p. torn. "The Third Edition." n.d. music 3-40; 13 x 21.5 cm. MWA

BABCOCK, SAMUEL (fl. 1795-1803)

"THE MIDDLESEX HARMONY: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music, in three and four parts. Containing a concise introduction to the art of singing; together with a great variety of airs, suitable for divine worship . . . besides a number of favourite pieces. , .

Second edition, with large additions and improvements. Printed at Boston, by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews. Sold by them and the Booksellers in general, and by the author at Watertown—January 1803." 13 x 22 cm. 110 pp. MWA DLC

"At the request of a number of gentlemen of that fraternity, he has published at the end of this work, the Mason Song." [First edition, 1795] .

BALTIMORE-REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

"THE/ BALTIMORE COLLECTION/ of/ SACRED MUSICK. / Selected And Compiled Under The Direction Of/ A Committee Of The/ ASSOCIATE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BALTIMORE / Baltimore:/ Published By Cushing and Jewett, / at their town and country book and stationary store, no. 6, North Howard Street. / Thomas Murphy, Printer. / 1819." 14 x 21.5 cm. 95 pp. ICN MWA

Preface is signed by John M. Duncan, pastor of the church.

BELKNAP, DANIEL (1771-1815)

1. A. "THE/ MIDDLESEX COLLECTION OF SACRED HARMONY. / Containing/ I. A Concise Introduction to the Grounds of Music. / II. A Large Collection of Psalm Tunes and Favourite Pieces of/ Music. / Adapted to All the Metres in Dr. Watts' and Dr. Belknap's Psalms and Hymns. / By DANIEL BELKNAP. / Published according to Act of Congress. / Printed, Typographically, at Boston, for the Author, / by ISAIAH THOMAS and EBENEZER T. ANDREWS, / Faust's Statue, No. 45, Newbury-Street. —Nov. 1802." 13 x 22.5 cm. 111 pp. MWA NN RPB DLC ICN

B. Second Edition, 1808. CtY

2. A. "THE VILLAGE COMPILATION/ of/ SACRED MUSICK./ By Daniel Belknap./ Boston:/ Printed For The Author. . . . By J. T. Buckingham. . . . 1806."

Intro. [v-viii]; music [19]-151; index.
This imprint does not say Second edition. [Britton 1806a]
ICN CtY MB MHi MWA RPB

B. Second Edition. Boston.
13.5 x 22.5 cm. 151 pp. [Britton 1806b] DLC MH

[BILLINGS, WILLIAM?] (1746-1800)

1. A. "THE YOUNG MAN'S INSTRUCTIVE COMPANION Containing I. A Gamut and Explanations of the Rules of Music, &c. II. A Number of Plain, Easy and Useful Tunes, from the best authors, ancient and modern, and well adapted to Schools, Churches and Families, in the United States. Northampton: Andrew Wright for the Compiler.

Reprinted and for sale by D. West, Boston; A. Hamilton, Worcester; S. Butler, Northampton; Denio & Phelps, and Clark & Tyler, Greenfield. — Price 20 cents single one dollar and ninety cents per dozen and 13 dollars per hundred."
[1804?] 16 pp. DLC

Britton notes that all eds. are identical with preliminary leaves and pages 1-8, 1-8 of n.d. ed of Billings' Psalm Singer's Amusement. Only slight other changes. Possibly published by John Howe (1790-1826), who possibly purchased the original plates.

B. N.p., n.d. MWA

C. N.p., n.d., slightly different MWA

D. N.p., n.d., index gives different page numbers MWA

2. "THE PSALM-SINGER'S AMUSEMENT, containing, I. A Gamut and Explanations of the Rules of Music, & c.II. A Number of Plain, Easy and Useful Tunes, From the Best Authors, Ancient and Modern, and Well Adapted to Schools, Churches, and

Families, in the United States." [N. p., c. 1805.]
13 x 21.5 cm. DLC

BLAKE, GEORGE E. (1775-1871)

1. A. "VOCAL HARMONY;/ Being a Collection of/ PSALMS, HYMNS, ANTHEMS & CHANTS, / Compiled from the Compositions of the/ most/ Approved Authors/ ANCIENT & MODERN. / By G. E. Blake. Pr. Dols. / Philadelphia. Published & Sold By G. E. Blake No. 1 South 3d Street." [1810?] obl. 16o, 64 pp. DLC

   B. Pratt lists copy only for 1810, but another issue is listed by Shaw #8041 for 1805, Philadelphia, 200 pp. M. B. M. B. did not confirm this edition however.

BLANCHARD, AMOS (fl. 1808)

1. "THE AMERICAN MUSICAL PRIMER; Containing a Correct Introduction to the Grounds of Music, Rudimental, Practical & Technical. Together with a Collection of Tunes, of the Various Metres now in use in Religious Societies; and Calculated for the Improvement of Youth and the Worship of God . . . Exeter [N. H.]: Printed by Norris & Sawyer and Sold at their Book-Store . . . Sold also by the Booksellers in Boston, Salem, Newburyport, and Portsmouth . . . April 1808." obl. 24o 80 pp.
   DLC NN MWA

2. [Blanchard] "THE/ NEWBURYPORT COLLECTION/ of/ SACRED, EUROPEAN MUSICK:/ Consisting of/ Psalm Tunes and Occasional Pieces, selected from the most eminent European Publications. . . . adapted to all the Metres in general use. / to which is prefixed. / A Concise Introduction To The Grounds of Musick. / Exeter:/ Printed by Ranlet & Norris, And Sold At Their Book-Store. / 1807." 13 x 23.5 cm. 149 pp.
   NNUT MWA NN DLC

BOSTON COLLECTION

"THE BOSTON COLLECTION of Sacred and Devotional Hymns: Intended to Accomodate Christians on Special & Stated Occasions.

Boston, Manning & Loring, 1808." 24o 324 pp. DLC MWA

Not a typical tunebook. The music appears at the end, pp. 291-318, without text. Another printing, exactly the same at MWA has only 156 pages and no music.

BOSTON-BRATTLE STREET CHURCH

"LXXX/ PSALM AND HYMN TUNES, / For/ Public Worship. / Adapted To The Metres Used In Churches. / Boston:/ Printed by Manning & Loring. . . . 1810." 22 cm. octavo 51 pp.
MWA DLC MBC Ct-Hc

This book was known by several different titles, thus some confusion exists in listing it. A committee of the Brattle Street Church, including Bartholemew Brown and Elias Mann, edited the volume. It is known as the "Brattle Street Collection" or listed under the name of one of the editors, or under the name of the pastor, Joseph Buckminster.

BOSTON-FEDERAL STREET CHURCH

"SACRED PSALMODY, Selected for the Church in Federal Street," [Boston, 181-?] 13.5 x 23 cm. 20 pp. MB

MB has no t.p., therefore, n.d.

BOSTON-FIRST CHURCH

1. A. "THE/FIRST CHURCH COLLECTION/ Of/ SACRED MUSICK:/ For The Use Of Religious Societies. / Boston:—Printed By J. T. Buckingham. —October, 1805." 13 x 22.5 cm. 40 pp.
DLC MWA TxU

   B. Second Edition, 1806.

2. A. "SACRED MUSICK, Selected For The Use Of/ THE FIRST CHURCH/ In/ BOSTON. / With/ Rudiments of Musick/ Prefixed. / Boston:/ Printed by Joseph T. Buckingham, / Winter-Street. / 1815." 23 cm. 66 pp.
NNUT MWA MBC MWHi NbHi MH-AH RPB DLC

B. Metcalf, Amer. Psalm., p. 23, lists "Second ed. 136 p. Boston 1815" and " 94 p. 1815"

BOSTON-HOLLIS STREET CHURCH

"PSALM AND HYMN TUNES, / Selected/ For The Use/ Of The HOLLIS-STREET SOCIETY, / In Boston. / Boston:/ Printed by J. T. Buckingham. / 1811/" 13.5 x 22 cm. 71 pp.
NNUT DLC MWA

BOSTON TRINITY CHURCH

"HYMNS, / Selected From the/ Most Approved Authors, / For The Use Of/ TRINITY CHURCH, / BOSTON, / Boston:/ Published And Sold By/ Munroe, Francis, & Parker, / At The Shakspeare [sic] Bookstore, / No. 4, Cornhill. / 1808." 17.5 cm., not oblong 179 pp.
MBC MHi MWA

Preface states: Published by the Vestry of Trinity Church," Contains music pages 161-174 only.

BOSTON-WEST CHURCH

"A/ COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSICK:/ More Particularly Designed For/ The Use Of The West Church/ In Boston. / Boston:/ Printed By Buckingham & Titcomb, Winter-Street. / 1810." 13 x 22 cm. 76+ pp.
MWA DLC

BOYD, JAMES M.

"THE VIRGINIA SACRED MUSICAL REPOSITORY," Winchester, VA., Printed by J. Foster, 1818. 13 x 22 cm. 112 pp. shaped notes. Bound with the "Virginia Sacred Minstrel." DLC

BROWN, BARTHOLEMEW (1772-1854)

1. A. "COLUMBIAN AND EUROPEAN HARMONY:/ or, / BRIDGEWATER COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSIC. / By Bartholemew Brown, A.M. And Others. / Published According To Act Of

Congress. / Printed At Boston, / By Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews. / Sold by said Thomas & Andrews, and John West, Proprietors of the Work, at their respective Bookstores. / Dec. 1802." 13 x 22 cm. 160 pp.
MWA DLC MB CtHW

Metcalf (American Writers, 169) notes that "And Others" is for the other joint editors of the work, Benjamin Holt and Nahum Mitchell. The work, however, is listed under the name of Brown, the major editor.

B. "Second Edition, Improved. Feb. 1804." 168 pp.
MWA MH RPB DLC CtHW

C. "BRIDGEWATER COLLECTION/ Of/ SACRED MUSICK. / By Bartholemew Brown, A.M. And Others. / Third Edition. . . . Published according to Act of Congress. / Boston:/ Published By Thomas & Andrews and J. West & Co. Proprietors of The Work, / And Sold At Their Respective Bookstores. . . . Oct. 1810. / J. T. Buckingham, Printer, Winter-Street."
13.5 x 22.5 cm. 168 pp. MWA MH DLC

The name changes after the second edition to "The Bridgewater Collection," and in the fourth and later editions to "Templi Carmina, etc."

D. [Brown, Bartholemew.] "TEMPLI CARMINA. / SONGS OF THE TEMPLE, / or, / BRIDGEWATER COLLECTION/ of/ SACRED MUSIC. / Fourth Edition, Improved And Enlarged. / Boston:/ Published By West And Richardson. / T. W. White, Printer. / 1816." 13 x 22.5 cm. 321 pp. MB RPB MWA

E. [Brown, Bartholemew.] "TEMPLI CARMINA . . . Fifth Edition, Improved And Enlarged. / Boston:/ Published By West & Richardson, No. 75, Cornhill. / October, 1817.
13.5 x 22 .5 cm. 325 pp. MH ICN DLC

F. [Brown, Bartholemew.] "TEMPLI CARMINA . . . Sixth Edition, Improved and Enlarged. / Boston: Printed by J. H. A. Frost, for West, Richardson & Lord, October, 1818." 13 x 22 cm. 325 pp. MB RPB MWA Ct-HC

G. "TEMPLI CARMINA . . . Seventh Edition, Improved and Enlarged. October 1819." 13.5 x 22 cm. 325 pp.
DLC MB RPB

H. [Brown, Bartholemew.] "TEMPLI CARMINA . . . Eighth Edition, Improved and Enlarged . . . Oct. 1820." 13 x 23 cm. 321 pp.
MWA Ct-Hc

This popular series was continued after 1820 under the editorship of Nahum Mitchell, the twenty-seventh edition appearing in 1839.

BULL, WILLIAM

"MUSIC, / ADAPTED TO LANGUAGE, / Containing/ Rudiments Of Music, / With A/ Choice Collection Of Sacred Harmony, / In A/ New And Simple Notation, Prefixed And Adapt-/ ed To Select Hymns;/ The Music, By A New And Easy Method Of Vari-/ ation, Is Made Always To Conform To Lan-/ guage, In Whatever Is Required By/ The Laws Of Prosody And Elocution:/ BY WILLIAM BULL. / Greenfield Mass/ Published By The Author. / Denio & Phelps, Printers. / 1819." 14.5 cm. not oblong 123 pp.
MWA MB

BUSHNELL, JOHN (fl. 1807).

"THE/ MUSICAL SYNOPSIS. Containing, / Concise Rules Of Vocal Music;/ Together With A/ Variety Of Tunes Suitable For Public And Social Worship. By John Bushwell. / Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed, Typographically at Northampton, / by Graves & Clap, for the Compiler. / 1807." 13 x 21 cm. 87 pp. MWA CtHT

BUTTS, THOMAS

"HARMONIA SACRA, / Or/ A COMPILATION OF PSALM AND HYMN TUNES, / Collected From/ The Most Celebrated European Masters, / As Published In The Different London Editions By Thomas Butts;/ To Which Are Added Several Select Pieces From GREEN & HANDEL. / Andover/ Printed And Published By Flagg And Gould. / For Sale By The Publishers; By Cummings & Hilliard, Boston; Charles Whipple, Newburyport; and Henry Whipple, Salem. / 1816." 25 x 29 cm. 243 pp.
NNUT MWA DLC MH

A Reprint of the London, 1770, edition.

CAPEN, SAMUEL (fl. 1805)

"THE NORFOLK HARMONY NO. 1. Being An Original Composition Of Anthems And Set Pieces; With A Variety Of Metres And Airs Suitable For Divine Worship, And For The Use Of Musical Societies: Consisting Of Three And Four Parts. To Which Is Added, A Concise Introduction To The Grounds Of Music . . . Printed by Manning & Loring, For the Author. Boston, Nov. 1805." 13 x 22.5 cm. 64 pp. MWA CtY MB

CARDEN, ALLEN D.

"THE MISSOURI HARMONY, or A Choice Collection Of Psalm Tunes, Hymns And Anthems, Selected From The Most Eminent Authors, And Well Adapted To All Christian Churches, Singing Schools, And Private Societies; Together With An Introduction To The Grounds Of Music, The Rudiments Of Music, And Plain Rules For Beginners, St. Louis, The Compiler, 1820. Morgan, Lodge & Co. Printers, Cincinnati, 1820." 13.5 x 22 cm. 199 pp. MB

Other editions numerous to 1855.

CARR, BENJAMIN (1769-1831)

1. "THE/ CHORISTER, / A Collection Of/ Chants & Melodies/ Adapted To The/ Psalms & Hymns/ of the/ Episcopal Church/ Selected, Composed, Arranged, and respectfully inscribed/ to the Ladies and Gentlemen/ forming the Choral Association/ Of/ St. Peters Church/ By/ BENJAMIN CARR./ Op. XII Price $2../ Copy right secured. / Philadelphia/ Published for B. Carr." [Copy. July 8, 1820.] 32 cm. 36 pp. CtY

2. "A/ COLLECTION OF CHANTS & TUNES/ for the Use of the/ EPISCOPAL CHURCHES, / in the City of/ PHILADELPHIA. / Edited by B. Carr, Organist of St. Peters Church and published/ with the approbation of The Right Reverend Bishop White/ Philadelphia Printed for the Editor and Sold at the Music Stores also by J. Carr Baltimore. Pr. 2$" [1816] 19 x 27 cm. 62 pp. CtY

3. "LESSONS AND EXERCISES IN VOCAL MUSIC . . . Baltimore, 1811." engraved 60 pp. Not located.

4. A. "MASSES, VESPERS, LITANIES, / HYMNS, PSALMS, ANTHEMS & MOTETTS. / Composed, Selected and Arranged for the Use of the/ Catholic Churches in the United States of America/ & Respectfully Dedicated by permission of the/ Right Rev^{d}. John Carrol D. D. Bishop of Baltimore. / By Benjamin Carr. Price Bound One Eagle/ Sold by J. Carr, Baltimore, G. Blake, Philadelphia, J. Hewitt, New York, & E. Mallet, Boston." [1805] 126 pp. MH MBNEC

The above was privately printed at Baltimore. Another issue lists Philadelphia. Carr & Schetky. 1805.

B. "A New Edition with an appendix . . ." [181?]. 35 cm. 136 pp. MH DLC

5. "SACRED HARMONY, Consisting of Airs, Duos, and Trios, with an Accompaniment for the Organ, Harp, or Piano Forte:" [1804-1805?].

Not known whether this book was ever published. The above is from an advertisement in Carr's "Masses, Vespers," etc [1805], and continues to say: "it contains several of the Anthems, Hymns, &c. at the latter part of this work, with the addition of some of the most esteemed Airs, from Handel's Oratorios, particularly arranged for the study of Amateurs in general: ornamented with an elegant Frontispiece, designed by Volozan and engraved by Edwin, and may be had of J. Carr, Baltimore, -G. Blake, and G. Willig, Philadelphia, - J. Hewitt, New York, - and F. Mallet, Boston. Price bound, 5.50 - unbound, 5.00." Edited with George Schetky.

CARROLL, JAMES P.

"SONGS OF ZION" 1820. Not located.

CHAPIN, NATHAN (fl. 1810) [& Dickerson, Joseph L.]

1. A. "THE/ MUSICAL INSTRUCTOR:/ Containing/ A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, And Anthems;/ Together With

The/Rudiments Of Music On An Improved Plan, / Wherein/ Each Sound And Its Distance From The Key Is Always Known By Its Name And Character. / All Reduced To One Uniform Plan, And Made Familiar To The Weakest Capacity. / For The Use Of Singing Schools And Societies In The United States. / By Nathan Chapin, And Joseph L. Dickerson. / Philadelphia. / Printed and Sold By W. M'Culloch, No. 306, Market Street, Near The University Of Pennsylvania, / Sold Also By M. Carey, No. 122, Market Street, / M, DCCC, VIII. " [1808]. 16 x 23 cm. 98 pp. DLC MWA

B. Philadelphia: W. M'Culloch, 1810. DLC PPaSchw

CHEVERUS, REV. JOHN

1. A. "ROMAN CATHOLIC MANUAL, or Collection of Prayers, Anthems, Hymns, &c. Boston, 1803."

B. Second Enlarged Edition. Baltimore, 1807.

This work is known only bibliographically. Another edition is noted for 1823.

CHILD, EBENEZER (1770-1866)

"THE/ SACRED MUSICIAN, / AND/ YOUNG GENTLEMAN AND LADY's PRACTICAL GUIDE TO MUSIC /. In Three Parts. / Part I. An Introduction to the Rudiments of Psalmody, on a New Plan. -Part II. A Great/ Variety of Psalm Tunes constituting the different Metres, Air and Keys usually introduced into Sacred/Music. -Part III. A Large Number of Anthems, Odes, Dirges and Lengthy Pieces of Music, &c./ A Great Part Never Before Published. / By Ebenezer Child. / Published according to Act of Congress./ Boston, Printed by Manning & Loring for the Author, Oct. 1804." 13.5 x 22.5 cm. 118 pp. PMA MWA CtHT

CHOICE COLLECTION

"A CHOICE COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSIC" 2 volumes. t.p. missing. Owner's inked in date is 1818. Vol. I, the larger has 12 pp. "Observations and Remarks" and instructional notation & psalmody. Numerous pp. of mss notation at end. Vol. II, one-half size of vol. I, has no instructions, only hymns and songs. N. D. CT

CHOICE SELECTION

"A/ CHOICE SELECTION/ of/ HYMNS, / Set to Some Of The Most Approved Tunes." [In "The Christian Oeconomy" . . . Winchester, Va., 1817.] pp. [96]-126 have music. MWA

CHORISTERS' GUIDE

"CHORISTERS' GUIDE, Music selected from the Songs of the Temple with reference to Belknap's Psalms and Hymns." [c. 1818] Noted from Metcalf, American Psalmody, p. 19.

CLIFTON, ARTHUR (1784-1832) [orig. name CORRI, PHILIP ANTHONY]

"AN ORIGINAL COLLECTION/ of/ PSALM TUNES, / Extracted From The Beautiful Works, (Chiefly Sacred) Of The Most Celebrated/ Ancient And Modern Composers, / To Which Are Added Several Tunes Composed Expressly For This Work. / The whole arranged for Three Voices, and adapted to the Metres of Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns. / By Arthur Clifton, / Organist Of The First Presbyterian Church Of Baltimore. / Baltimore: Printed for the Author, and to be had of him, No. 4, S. Gay-street, and at T. Carr's Music Store. / Printed by T. Murphy, 2, South Gay-street." [1819] 12 x 19 cm. 86 pp.
DLC CtY

COLE, ISAAC P. (fl. 1815)

[Cole] "THE PHILADELPHIA/ THIRD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH COLLECTION/ OF/ SACRED MUSIC,/ Adapted to the Metres of Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns:/ with a Variety of Airs, / Calculated for Private Religious Societies. / Philadelphia: Printed by W. M'Culloch, No. 306, Market-Street. 1815." 9.5 x 24 cm. 92 ppg
NNUT

COLE, JOHN (1774-1855)

1. A. "[Cole, John] THE/ BEAUTIES OF PSALMODY, / Containing a Selection of/ SACRED MUSIC/ in/ Three and Four parts;/ Adapted to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns. / Copy-right secured according to Law. / BALTIMORE:/ Printed and Sold by Sower and Cole, No. 190, Market-Street. / 1804."

[1] t.p.; Dedication "to the members of the Baltimore Sacred Harmonical Association," [2]; Preface [3]; Miscellaneous Remarks [4]; The Gamut [5]-8; music [9]-63; Index. 13 x 21 cm. Cty PLF

B. "The/ BEAUTIES OF PSALMODY, / Containing/ A Selection of Sacred Music, / In Three and Four Parts:/ Adapted to Dr. Dwight's Psalms and Hymns, and the Psalms and Hymns of the/ Episcopal Prayer-Book. / By John Cole. / Second Edition, Enlarged. / Baltimore . . . Printed and Sold by Cole & Hewes . . . . Charles-Street. / 1805."

t.p. [1]; preface [iii-iv]; The First Principles of Music [1]-11; contents, 12; music 17-96; Appendix (See below); 14 x 23 cm.

"APPENDIX/ containing/ The CHANTS, RESPONCES [sic], &c. / of the/ MORNING, EVENING AND COMMUNION SERVICES, / As Performed at/ CHRIST CHURCH AND SAINT PAUL'S/ BALTIMORE."

2nd t.p. and appendix following p. 96, 97-103; advt; communion and doxology [105-106].

[A Third Edition of Beauties of Psalmody is dated 1827 by Metcalf] American Psalmody, p. 20] MWA ICN

2. A. "A/ COLLECTION/ of/ PSALM TUNES AND ANTHEMS. / Composed by JOHN COLE, of Baltimore, / Author of 'The Divine Harmonist,'/ Published according to Act of Congress/ Printed, Typographically, at Boston, / By Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews. / Sold at their Bookstore, No. 45, Newbury-Street; by said Thomas, in Worcester;/ and by the Booksellers in Town and Country. December, 1803." 55 pp. NN

B. Pratt lists a N.d. "Collection of Anthems" [c. 1801?]. Not located.

3. "DEVOTIONAL HARMONY:/ Consisting of/ Psalm Tunes, Occasional Hymns, Chants and Anthems, / Interspersed with a Few Other Pieces;/ The music principally composed/ By JOHN COLE./ Baltimore: Printed for the authour [sic] by G. Dobbin and Murphy." [Preface dated May 17, 1814.] 21 x 27 cm.; unpaged; 74 pieces; NNUT MWA DLC Ct-HC

4. A. ["THE DIVINE HARMONIST, a Collection of Sacred Music in Four Parts, designed for public worship. Baltimore, Warner & Hanna, 1802."]

This is listed in Shaw and Shoemaker as #2048. A copy has not been located through the National Union Catalogue. However, A Collection of Psalm Tunes (II), published in 1803, is advertised as composed by the 'author of 'The Divine Harmonist'," thus suggesting an earlier edition.

B. "THE/DIVINE HARMONIST. / Containing a variety of/ PSALM-TUNES, CHANTS AND ANTHEMS, / selected from the works of the most/ CELEBRATED AUTHORS, / by/ JOHN COLE." N. p.; n. d.

[Advertised as "this day published" in the Federal Gazette, Baltimore, November 1, 1808.]

Engraved t. p. signed; F. G. Forster, script.; J. Bannerman, sculp.; Music engraved by G. E. Blake. 56 pp. 15 x 23-1/2 cm.
MWA

5. "ECCLESIASTICAL HARMONY:/ A Collection of/ Ancient and Modern Tunes, / Particularly/ Adapted to Dr. Dwight's Collection of Psalms and Hymns;/ including a number never before published in this country. / By John Cole. / Baltimore—printed for the author by G. Dobbin & Murphy. N. d." [1810] 80 pp. ICN

6. A. "EPISCOPALIAN HARMONY;/ containing/ the Hymns/ set forth by the general conventions/ of the/ Protestant Episcopal Church, / With appropriate Music to each Hymn:/ together with a few/ additional tunes, embracing All The Peculiar Metres In The Book Of Psalms. / To which are added, / Chants, Doxologies, Responses &c. / for/Morning and Evening Prayer/ and the/ Communion Office. / Published under the sanction and patronage of the convention of the State of Maryland/ by John Cole. / Baltimore:/ Printed for the author and sold by Edward J. Coale, / G. Dobbin & Murphy, printers, 4, Harrison St." [1811]. 87 pp. 20-1/2 x 25-1/2 cm.

B. Pratt notes editions of this publication in 1800 and 1811. Shaw and Shoemaker list a copy at CtY for 1809 (#17248), but CtY does not report this copy in its collection. The [1811] edition is found at ICN DLC NNUT Ct-HC. American Psalmody, Metcalf, lists 1800.

C. "EPISCOPALIAN HARMONY;/ consisting of a variety of Psalm Tunes and Occasional Hymns, / Selected from the most approved works. / By John Cole/ Baltimore—printed for the author, by Murphy and Milless, 4, Harrison Street." [c. 1817] CtHC

Murphy & Milless worked together only 1817-1818.

7. "THE/ RUDIMENTS OF MUSIC, / or/ An Introduction/ to the/ ART OF SINGING. / Compiled for the use of schools. / By John Cole. / Baltimore—Printed by G. Dobbin and Murphy, 10, Baltimore-Street." [1810]. 32 pp. 12-1/2 x 21 cm. MWA

Dated [1810] by Roger P. Bristol in his "Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810; Charlottesville, Va. 1953. p. 245, no. 834.

8. [Cole, John] "SONGS OF ZION, / Containing a Selection of/ APPROVED PSALM TUNES IN FOUR PARTS;/ With a Concise Introduction to Music, and/ AN APPENDIX, / Containing the Chants of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as sung at St. Paul's and other Churches. / Baltimore:/ Published by Joseph Robinson, and sold at his Circulating Library, and at Carr's Music Store. / Murphy and Milless, Print. [1818]."

Copyright notice is dated "thre thirtieth day of January, in the forty-second year of the Independence of the United States . . . [1818]." Very small size. This copy is inscribed on the t. p. "L. Mason". CtY

9. "Thirty Four Psalm Tunes, chiefly of German origin . . . the hymns and doxologies . . . in the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . Baltimore: 1820."

This copy is unlocated. CtY indicates not in collection.

[John Cole continued to publish tune-books for a number of years, most important being The Seraph (1821, 1822, 1827) and Laudate Dominum (1842, 1847).]

10. COLE, SAMUEL and JOHN

"SACRED MUSIC:/ Published for the Use of the/ Cecilian Society. / Established under the Patronage/ of the/ Clergy and Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, / Baltimore:/ By S. &J. Cole. / To Be Continued Occasionally."

Advertisement is dated "Baltimore, January 1, 1803." Edition shows clear style of John Cole. DLC RPB

COLLECTION

A. "A/ COLLECTION OF/ SACRED MUSIC, / Designed Principally/ For The Use Of Churches Which Sing Without A Choir:/ From The Most Approved Authors. / Albany:/ Published By E. F. Backus, No. 65, State Street. / Utica:/ Printed Typographically By William Williams, / No. 60, Genesee Street. / 1817." 21.5 cm. 67 pp.
NNUT MWA NN RPB

COLUMBIAN HARP

"THE/ COLUMBIAN HARP, / A Collection of/ Sacred Vocal and Instrumental Music, / Containing/ The Most Admired Pieces Of The Ablest Masters Of Europe, Selected From The Lock/ Hospital; The Collections Of Rippon, Williams, Arnold And Others:/ Designed/ For The Use Of Worshipping Assemblies And Singing Societies. / BY AN AMERICAN. / Published by Authority. / Northampton, Massachusetts, Published by The Author. —1812. / Wright And Ware, Printers." 21 x 27 cm. 80 pp. MH MWA DLC CtHT-W ICN

COOPER, WILLIAM (fl. 1804)

1. "THE/ BEAUTIES OF CHURCH MUSIC;/ And/ The Sure Guide To The Art Of Singing:/ Containing, / I. An Introduction to the Grounds of Practical Music, or easy and familiar Rules/ for Learners. / II. A cursory Development of the Proportions of Harmony, for the Use of those who/ would become Proficients in Composition, and those likewise who would wish to form a just Estimate of the Merits of the/ Pieces which they perform. / III. A choice Collection of PSALM TUNES, CHORUSSES, and ANTHEMS, from the most/ approved Authors, adapted to the Capacities of Learners, calculated to amuse and delight the Connoisseur, and particularly/suited to the Dignity and Solemnity of Divine Worship. / BY WILLIAM COOPER. / Published according to Act of Congress. / Boston:/ Printed by Manning & Loring, (Proprietors) and sold, wholesale and retail, at their Book-Store, No. 2, Cornhill." [1804, copyright]. 13.5 x 23 cm. 199 pp.
MWA NNUT DLC

2. "ORIGINAL SACRED MUSIC: Consisting of I. A Dedicatory Anthem, which will also be suitable to be Sung at Ordinations. II. An Anthem for Christmas. III. Psalm Tunes. Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring, and sold at their Bookstore . . . 1803."

MWA has photocopy of t. p. only.

3. "SACRED MUSICK: Consisting of Anthems for Particular Occasions and Psalm and Hymn Tunes. Music Signed by George C. Sweeney & William Cooper. Boston: Printed & Sold by J. T. Buckingham, Dec. 1810." 12o 71 pp. DLC MWA

CORRI, PHILIP ANTHONY. [See Arthur Clifton.]

CUMBERLAND MELODIST

"THE/ CUMBERLAND MELODIST;/ or, A/ Choice Selection Of Plain Tunes:/ with a/ Concise And Easy Gamut./ Printed For John M'Carrell, Shippensburg,/ By William M'Culloch, No. 50, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia./ September, 1804." 9 x 20 cm. t. p.; index [3]-4; intro. [6]-14; music 15-48. MWA

DAVID'S HARP

A. "DAVID'S HARP/ Being/ A Choice Collection of the/ Songs Of Zion;/ For The Use Of Worshipping Assemblies./ Printed and Published by Samuel Green;/ New-London; Connecticut. —1816." 10 x 23.5 cm. intro. 2-8; printed music 9-48; blank music paper 49-70. MWA CtHi RPB

B. "DAVID'S HARP:/ Containing/ The/ Rudiments of Music,/ Together With/ A/ Choice Collection Of/ The/ Songs of Zion./ Second Edition, Greatly Improved./ New-London:/ Printed And Published By/ Samuel Green./ 1818." 13.5 x 26 cm. intro. [3]-10; music 11-37; index 38; appendix 39-44. MWA RPB CtHT-W

DAVISSON, ANANIAS (1780-1857)

1. A. "KENTUCKY HARMONY . . . [1815-1816]." 158 pp. NcD

B. "KENTUCKY HARMONY./ Or,/ A Choice Collection Of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, And Anthems;/ In Three Parts./ Taken From The Most Eminent Authors, And Well Adapted To Christian Churches,/ Singing Schools, Or Private Societies./ Selected, By/ANANIAS DAVISSON. / Second Edition. / Printed, and sold by the Author, in Harrisonburg Virginia; and by one of the principal booksellers in each / of the following places, viz. Newmarket, Staunton, Lexington, Fincastle, Christiansburg, and Abington, Va. / Knoxville, E. Tennessee, Nashville, W. Tennessee, and Lexington Kentucky. / N. B. All description of Music printing can be done at this office, upon as reasonable terms as any in the United States." [1817]. preface [3]-7; rudiments 8-11; general observations 12-15; index 151-152; appendix 153-159. DLC CtHT-W

C. "A/ SUPPLEMENT/ To The/ KENTUCKY HARMONY/ By/ ANANIAS DAVISSON. A. K. H. / Copy Right Secured. / Printed, and sold by the Author, in Harrisonburg Virginia: and sold by one of the principle [sic] booksellers in each of the following/ places, viz. Richmond and Staunton, Va. Knoxville, E. Tennesse, Nashville, W. Tennessee, Lexington, Kentucky, and Louisville/ Missouri. / 1820." [102 pp. ?]

DEERFIELD COLLECTION

"DEERFIELD COLLECTION/ of / SACRED MUSIC. / Compiled From The Most Approved Authors Of Ancient And Modern/ Times. / Northampton:— Printed For S. & E. Butler. — Graves and Clap, Printers." [1808] 135 pp. MWA

[Possibly by Samuel Willard.]

DEUTSCHEN EVANGELISCH-LUTHERISCHEN

"CHORAL=BUCH/ für die/ ERBAULICHE LIEDER=SAMMLUNG/ Der/ DEUTSCHEN EVANGELISCH=LUTHERISCHEN GEMEINEN IN NORD=AMERIKA. / Auf Ansuchen Des Deutschen Evangelisch=Lutherischen Ministeriums, / herausgegben / von Der Corporation Der St. Michaelis= und Zions=Gemeine, / in Philadelphia. / Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey Conrad Zentler und Georg Blake. / 1813." 160 pp.
PLF PHi PPL PPLT PPeSchw

DICKERSON, JOSEPH L. [See Nathan Chapin].

DOLL, JOSEPH

1. A. "LEICHTER UNTERRICHT/ IN DER VOCAL MUSIK, / Enthaltend, Die vornehmsten/ Kirchen=Melodien, . . . Harrisburg: Printed by Johan Wyeth, 1810." 108 pp. PPLT

   B. "LEICHTER UNTERRICHT/ IN DER VOCAL MUSIK, / Enthaltend, Die Vornehmsten/ Kirchen=Melodien, / Die bey alle Religions=Verfassangen gebräuchlich sind, auf drey Stimmen gesetzt: / Und mit den/ vornehmsten Musicalischen Stücken von verschiedenen Dichtern und Componisten, samt hinreichendem Unterricht versehen, eingerichtet/ für Singschulen. / Zweyte und verbesserte Auflage. / herausge geben von Joseph Doll. / "Der leichte Unterricht," auf den neuen Notenplan, nemlich, der Charakter Noten in Diesem Buch eingeführet, ist Leute von geringen Fähigkeiten begreiflich, / in dem dieselben eine leichte und genaue Anweisung, Die Musik im Grund zu verstehen, enthalten; auch find alle nöthige Anweisungen, bengefüget. / Harrisburg: — Gedruckt bey Johan Wyeth. —1814. / Und zu haben bey dem Herausgeber, und bey Johan Wyeth, Buch-händler in Harrisburg: bey Matthias Zahm, Lancaster: bey Georg Doll, Yorktaun, und bey Johan P. Helfenstein, Carlisle." 14.5 x 28.5 cm. 110 pp.
   MWA P PPeSchw PLF

   A Third Edition was published in 1821.

2. "LEICHTER UNTERRICHT/ IN DER VOCAL MUSIK, / Enthaltend Eine Sammlung/ Geistreicher Gesänge, / Mit Den Neuesten Und Vornehmsten Musikalischen Stücken, Von Verschiedenen Dichtern und Componisten, Nebst Hinreichendem Unterricht/ Versehen. Eingerichtet Für Singschulen/ Zweyter Band. / Herausge geben Von Joseph Doll, Harrisburg. / Harrisburg: — Gedruckt Bey Johan Wyeth. —1815. / Und zu haben bey dem Herausgeber, und bey Johan Wyeth, Buchhändler in Harrisburg: bey Matthias Zahm, Lancaster: bey Henry Doll, Yorktoun, und bey Johan P. Helfenstein, Carlisle." 14.5 x 28 cm. 120 pp.
   CtHT-W MH MWA P PPPrHi PU RPB

   This is entitled volume II and is completely different in content from the first volume.

DOOLITTLE, ELIAKIM (1772-1850)

"THE PSALM SINGER'S COMPANION . . . New Haven, 1806." 49 pp.
From Metcalf, American Writers, pp. 152-153.

DYER, SAMUEL (1785-1835)

A. "A NEW SELECTION OF SACRED MUSIC, / Comprising A Great Variety Of Approved/ Psalm And Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Odes And Chorusses:/ From The Works Of The Most Esteemed Authors, Ancient And Modern, And Consisting Generally Of/ Tunes And Pieces Which Have Never Before Been Published In This Country:/ To Which Is Prefixed An Arranged Index, / Exhibiting at one view such Tunes as are suitable to the various Metres in Dr. Watts', Dr. Dwight's, Dr. Rippon's and the Methodist Hymn Books. / Also, / A Complete Introduction To The Art Of Singing, / With Copious Lessons And Examples, Many Of Which Are On A Plan Entirely New. / By Samuel Dyer. / Baltimore: Printed For The Author, And Sold By Fielding Lucas, Jun'r, 138, Baltimore-Street; Matthew Carey, 121, Chestnut-St. And Jonathan/Pounder, 134, North Fourth-St. Philadelphia; T. And J. Swords, 160, Pearl-St. And W. B. Gilley, 92, Broadway, N. York. / Murphy And Milless—Printers." [Copyright 1817] 120 pp. ICN MWA

B. Variant Edition contains Two Parts in One Volume. 15.5 x 17.5 cm. 120 pp. + 93 pp. NNUT Ct-HC

The two parts were later issued as separate works. See below. The second part is a selection of anthems.

C. Part One issued as a Second Edition, Baltimore: J. Robinson, [1819?]. 44 pp. NNUT

D. Second edition, enlarged and improved, [1820]. 13.5 x 22.5 cm. 180 pp. MWA

Part One [See B above] appeared as 2nd ed. in [1819]. [1820], 3rd ed. 1824, 4th ed. 1828, 6th ed. 1828. Part Two appeared in a 2nd ed. [c. 1822], and 3rd ed. [c. 1834].

ECKHARD, JACOB, SR.

"CHORAL-BOOK, / Containing/ Psalms, Hymns, Anthems And Chants,/ Used In The Episcopal Churches Of Charleston, South-Carolina;/ And/ A Collection Of Tunes, / Adapted to the Metres in the Hymn-Book, published by order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod/ of the State of New-York. / The Whole A Selection For The Service Of All Protestant

Churches In America. / By Jacob Eckhard, senior, / Organist of St. Michael's. / Boston:/ Printed by James Loring, For The Author." [c. 1816]. 13.5 x 23 cm. 83 pp. NNUT

A published version of the 1809 mss organ book still preserved in St. Michael's church, Charleston.

EDSON, LEWIS, Jun. (1748-1820)

A. "THE/ SOCIAL HARMONIST, / containing/ First, The Necessary Rules of Music—/ Second, A Collection Of Tunes Chiefly Original. / By Lewis Edson Jun. / Second Edition/ New York, Published according to Act of Congress, A. D. 1801." 48 pp. MRA NN BrMus

B. "THE SOCIAL HARMONIST . . . Tunes & Anthens . . . Third Edition, New York 1803." CtHT-W

Bound with D. Read's Columbian Harmonist.

ELLIS, ABNER (1770-1844)

[Ellis, Abner] Additional Music/ to The/ Delights of Harmony, &c [In Jenks, Stephen The Delights of Harmony; or, Norfolk Compiler . . . Dedham, 1805.] 97-112 pp. MWA Ct-HC

ERBAN, PETER (1769-1861)

"SELECT PSALM AND HYMN TUNES . . . New York, 1806."

Listed by Metcalf, American Psalmody, p. 22. Not located.

EVANS, JAMES

1. A. "DAVID'S COMPANION . . . New York, 1807."

Listed in Metcalf American Psalmody, p. 23. NN copy not located.

B. "DAVID'S COMPANION. Being a Choice Selection of Hymn and Psalm Tunes Adapted to the Words and Measures in the Methodist Pocket Hymn-Book . . . New York, J. Evans, 1808. 80 pp. MH PPiW

2. A. "DAVID'S COMPANION, / or, / the METHODIST STANDARD:/ Being a Choice Selection Of Tunes Adapted To The/ Words And Measures In The Large Hymn Book, / And Designed For The Use Of The/ Methodists Throughout The United States. / Containing A Variety Of Tunes, / From the ablest Authors, to all the Metres Now in use in the different Churches, many of which/ have never before been published in America. / Selected By James Evans, New-York. / To be had of the Publisher, 156 Broadway; of John Totten, Chatham-Square; at the Methodist Book-Store, New York;/ and of all the Methodist Preachers." [1811?]. 17.5 x 24 cm. 162 pp. MWA

B. "DAVID'S COMPANION, or, THE METHODIST STANDARD: Being a Choice Selection of Tunes Adapted to the Works and Measures in the Large Hymn Book . . . Edition Two New York, Printed by Abraham Paul, for the Wesleyan Sacred Music Society of the City of New York, 1817. 16.5 x 26 cm. 162 pp. NNUT

EYER, JOHAN F. [See Isaac Gerhart].

FLINT, TIMOTHY (1780-1840)

"THE/ COLUMBIAN HARMONIST:/ In Two Parts. / To Which Is Prefixed/ A Dissertation Upon The True Taste In Church Music, / By/ Timothy Flint, A. M. / Cincinnati:/ Published By Coleman And Phillips. / Looker, Palmer & Reynolds, Printers. / 1816." Shape notes 204 pp. NHi CSmH OCHP

FOBES, AZARIAH

A. "THE DELAWARE HARMONY . . . [Wilmington, 1808]." 100 pp. DeHi

B. Same, except "Philadelphia: W. M'Culloch [1809]. 100 pp. ICN NN DeWI

Bound with Adgate, Andrew Rudiments or Music, 1803.

C. "THE/ DELAWARE HARMONY: / A Collection/ Of Psalm And Hymn Tunes, From The Most Approved Authors:/ Together with/ Several Tunes Never Before Published:/ Containing the Rudiments/ Of Music On A Plain And Concise Plan. / By Azariah Fobes, Teacher of Psalmody, in Wilmington, (Del.)/ The Second Edition, with corrections and additions. / Philadelphia:/ Printed and Sold by W. M'Culloch, No. 306, Market Street:—Sold also by the Publisher, Wilmington. / 1814." 14 x 22.5 cm. t.p.; preface [4]; index [5]; rudiments [7]-16; music 17-112. DLC MWA PP

FORBUSH, ABIJAH

A. "THE/ PSALMODIST'S ASSISTANT:/ Containing/ An Original Composition of Psalm And Hymn Tunes, / And/ A Dirge on the Death of General Washington. / To Which Is Prefixed. / An Introduction To The Grounds Of Music. / By Abijah Forbush. / Published according to Act of Congress. / Boston:/ Printed By Manning & Loring, For the Author. —Sept. 1803." 13 x 22 cm. 67 pp. MBC MWA

B. "Second Edition. / Boston: Printed And Sold By Manning & Loring, No. 2, Cornhill . . . 1806." 14 x 22.5 cm. 108 pp. NNUT MWA PLF CtHC

FRENCH, JACOB (b. 1754)

"HARMONY OF HARMONY. / In Five Parts. / Containing, / I. The Ground Work, or Principles of Music, By Way of Question And Answer. / II. The Gamut, or Scale of Music, In A Very Plain And Concise Method; Together with Observations on Music. / III. A Complete Set of Psalm Tunes, Adapted to all the Different Metres and Keys Usually Sung in Churches. / IV. A Number of Pieces Set to Particular Psalms and Hymns, Together With Odes, Fuging and Flying/ Pieces. / V. A Number of Anthems, Suitable for Different Occasions. / By Jacob French, Music Theorica. / Author of the New American Melody, and the Psalmodists Companion. / Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed, typographically at Northampton, / By Andrew Wright. —For the Compiler. —1802." 14 x 22.5 cm. 152 pp. DLC MWA NN RPB CtHT

FRISBIE, J. C. [See Elijah Griswold].

FROST, RUFUS

"THE MEDFORD HARMONY: Containing An Anthem for Thanksgiving, and a Number of Psalm Tunes For Publick Worship, Never Before Published. Boston, J. T. Buckingham, 1805." 24 pp. [32?] MB NhHi

FUNK, CHRISTIAN (1731-1811)

A. [Funk, Christian] "DIE KLEINE GEISTLICHE HARFE DER KINDER ZIONS, Oder Auserlesene Geistreiche Gesänge . . . Auf Verordnung Der Mennonisten Gemeinden. Erste Auflage. Germantaun: [Pa.] Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, im Jahr 1803." 17 cm 412 pp. + [20] MWA

Printed two columns to the page. Only the first 39 pages of psalms include music, this being a one line tune with the texts. A Hymnal.

Second t.p. is "SAMMLUNG ALTER UND NEUER GEISTREICHEN GESÄNGE . . . Erste Auflage. Germantaun, 1803." Section contains no music.

The hymnal is attributed to Christian Funk by Harold S. Bender in his "Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature" in The Mennonite Quarterly Review (Goshen, Ind.) Jan. 1927, v. 1, no. 1, pp. 46-47.

B. [Funk, Christian]. Same except imprint "1811." Second title same except "Zwente Auflage. Germantaun, 1811." Same as 1803 ed. One line tunes with psalms on first 39 pages only. MWA

C. [Funk, Christian]. Same except "Dritte Auflage, Germantaun: [Pa.]. Michael Billmeyer, 1820." Same as 1803 edition. Music one line only, first 39 pages. MWA

FUNK, JOSEPH

"DIE ALLGEMEIN NÜTZLICHE CHORAL-MUSIC, Enthaltend: Auserlesene Melodien, Welche Bey Allen Religions-Verfassungen gebräuchlich Sing. Auf zwey Stimmen Gesetzt. Begleitet, Mit Einer Vorrede, Über Die Music, Oder Tonkunst; Und mit Einer, Zum Grunde Der Vocal-Music Vollständigen Einleitung. Eingerichtet zum Gebrauch des Öffentlichen Gottesdienstes, Sing-Schulen und Privat-Uebungen. Verfasset von Joseph Funk. Harrisonburg, Virginia: Laurentz Wartmann." [1816, preface] 24o 88 pp.
DLC ViLu ViU InGo

A GAMUT, OR, SCALE OF MUSIC

A. "A GAMUT, OR/ SCALE OF MUSIC. / To Which Is Added, / Blank Lines For Favorite Music. / Hartford: Published and Sold by/ Oliver D. Cooke. / Graves and Clap, Printers, Northampton, Massachusetts—1805." 32 pp. NN

The first issue of this publication was printed and sold by Nathaniel Patten, Hartford in 1788. From that time it was issued in slightly varying forms in a number of cities. Seven issues are known before 1800. Those published after 1800 are listed below.

B. [Ward, William.... Utica, 1806.] Cited by Metcalf, American Psalmody, p. 51.

C. "Hartford; Published and Sold by/ Oliver D. Cooke. / Graves and Clap, Printers, Northampton, Massachusetts.—1807." 8.5 x 24 cm. 32 pp. MWA CtY DLC

D. "THE GAMUT, / OR/ SCALE OF MUSIC. / For the use of Schools. / Otsego, / Printed by H. & E. Phinney, Jun, and sold by them wholesale and retail. / 1810." 10.5 x 21 cm. 28 pp. MWA

Only the introductory instruction pages are printed. The music is in mss with no words. Unlike any of other editions with same title.

E. "THE GAMUT . . . Troy, N. Y., Parler & Bliss, 1810." NFred

F. "A GAMUT . . . Canandaigua, Printed by James D. Bemis, 1811." 8 pp. N

G. "A GAMUT . . . Hartford. / Published and Sold by/ Oliver D. Cooke. / Samuel Green, Printer, New-London, Connecticut. — 1811." 9 x 23 cm. 32 pp. MWA N CtHT-W CtHC

H. "A GAMUT . . . [same as F except]. Hartford, 1814." 9 x 25 cm. 32 pp. DLC MWA

I. "THE GAMUT . . . For the use of schools. Cooperstown, Printed by H. & E. Phinney and sold by them. 1814." DLC

J. "THE GAMUT, / OR/ SCALE OF MUSIC, / Containing, / In A Plain, Easy And Comprehensive Manner, / The Rules Of Singing, / Utica:/ Printed And Sold By Seward And Williams. 1815." 10 x 20 cm. 36 pp. MWA

K. "A/ GAMUT, / OR/ SCALE OF MUSIC. / To Which Is Added, / Blank Lines For Favorite Music. / Hartford, / Published And Sold By/ Cooke & Hale. / Samuel Green, Printer, New-London, Connecticut. —1816." 9 x 24.5 cm. 32 pp. MWA Ct CtHT-W Ct-Y

L. "THE GAMUT: OR RULES OF SINGING. Being A Concise Introduction to Practical Music. Utica: Printed & Published by William Williams, No. 60, Genesee Street, 1818." [t.p. has "printed by Seward & Williams, 1815." the 1818 date appears on the cover.] octavo shape 68 pp. + [24 pp] NN CtHC

M. "THE GAMUT . . . Utica . . . 1818."

N. "THE GAMUT:/ OR, / SCALE OF MUSIC, / For The Use of Schools. / Albany:/ Printed by Charles R. & George Webster, at their Bookstore, in the White House, Corner/ of State and Pearl Streets; where Printing and Bookbinding are carried on in an extensive manner." [N.d.]. 10 x 20 cm. 26 pp. MWA

GERHART, ISAAC [& Eyer, Johan F.]

"CHORAL=HARMONIE. / Enthaltend/ Kirchen=Melodien, / Die bey allen Religions=Verfassungen gebräuchlich, auf vier Stimmen gesezt, und mit einigen musikalischen Stücken, nebst hinreichendem/ Unterricht versehen, eingerichtet zum Uebung Der Jugend und zum Gebrauch Des öffentlichen Gottes=Dienstes, / welches ohne und mit

der Orgel kann gebraucht werden, wann ein Organist die/Regeln der Musik beobachtet. / Componirt und zusammen getragen, / von/ Isaac Gerhart, Ref. Prediger in Frenburg, / Johann F. Eyer, Organist, Selinsgrov. / Harrisburg:—Gedruckt und zu haben bey John Wyeth. . . . 1818. / Und zu haben bey den Authoren—G. B. Mentz, in Philadelphia—Schaffer und Maund, in Baltimore."
105 pp. DLC MWA PPeSchw

A second edition was published in 1822.

GILLET, WHEELER

1. "THE/ MARYLAND SELECTION/ OF/ SACRED MUSIC: / From The Best Authors, Ancient And Modern;/ In/ Three And Four Parts. / By Wheeler Gillet, And Co. / Baltimore:/ Printed By Henry S. Keatinge, North Howard Street. / 1809." 14 x 23 cm. 86 pp. DLC PHi PPL MWA PLF

2. "THE/ VIRGINIA SACRED MINSTREL, / Containing A Collection Of / Psalm And Hymn Tunes;/ Suited to many of the Metres now in use among the different religious denominations in the United States; and selected from cele-/ brated and approved Authors—European and American, for the purpose of/ Public and Family Worship, / By W. Gillet, &c. &c. / Winchester, Va. / Printed For The Author, / By J. Foster. / 1817." 14 x 23 cm. 124 pp. DLC MWA

GRAUPNER, GOTTLIEB (1767-1836)

[Graupner?] "THE MONITOR, OR CELESTIAL MELODY, Being A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Adapted For Four Voices And Organ or Pianoforte . . . Boston, Printed and Sold by G. Graupner at his Musical Repository, No. 6 Franklin Street." [N.d.] [1813?] 34.5 cm. 96 pp. engraved NNUT MB

GRISWOLD, ELIJAH [& Jenks, S. & Frisbie, J. C.]

1. "THE/ HARTFORD COLLECTION OF SACRED HARMONY;/ Being A New Selection Of/ Psalm Tunes, Hymns And Anthems;/ From The Most Approved American And European Authors. / Likewise, The Necessary Rules Of Psalmody Made Easy. / The

whole particularly designed for the use of Singing Schools and Musical Societies in the United States. / By Elijah Griswold, Stephen Jenks, And John C. Frisbie. / Hartford:/ Printed By Lincoln And Gleason. / 1807." 60 pp. MB MiHi MPiB ICN

2. "THE/ AMERICAN COMPILER." [See under Stephen Jenks.]

HARDY, DANIEL, Jun.

"A/ THANKSGIVING ANTHEM/ By Daniel Hardy, Jun. A. M. / Boston:—Printed by Manning & Loring, For The Author—Nov. 1808." 32 pp. DLC MB

This work is included because of its considerable length.

HARMON, JOEL (1773-1833)

1. "THE COLUMBIAN SACRED MINSTREL. Containing an Introduction to Psalmody and a Set of Tunes . . . Designed for the use of Worshipping Assemblies and Singing Societies. Being an Original Composition of Airs, Consisting of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts . . . Printed at Northampton, for the Author. A Wright, Printer . . . Dec. 1809." 13 x 21.5 cm. 79 pp. DLC CtY MWA NN PP

2. "MUSICAL PRIMER;/ Containing/ A Concise Introduction To Music, / And A Selection Of/ Psalm And Hymn Tunes, / Adapted To The Various Metres In General Use:/ Arranged for two, three, or four, Voices;/ Designed For The Use Of Worshipping Assemblies/ And Singing Societies. / By Joel Harmon. / Harrisburg:/ Printed by Greer & Minshall." [1814?] not oblong, 71 pp. PHi

HARTFORD-FIRST CHURCH

"CHURCH MUSIC:/ Selected/ By A Committee Of The First/ Ecclesiastical Society In Hartford, / And Designed For The Use Of/ That Society. / Together With A Few/ Useful Rules Of Psalmody. / Hartford: Published By/ George Goodwin, & Sons. / New-London: Printed By Samuel Green. —1817." 13 x 23.5 cm. 40 pp. MWA CT-HT

HARTWELL, EDWARD

"THE CHORISTER'S COMPANION, Containing a Concise Introduction to the Grounds of Music. A Variety of Plain Psalm Tunes and Occasional Pieces, Original and Select, in Two Parts. I. An Introduction to the Grounds of Music, and a Variety of Tunes Suited to all the Metres Now Used in American Churches. II. A Variety of Anthems, Odes and Occasional Pieces . . . Exeter: Printed by C. Norris & Co. for the Author. Sold by the Booksellers in the New England States. 1815." 13 x 22.5 cm. 166 pp. DLC MWA

HASTINGS, THOMAS (1784-1872)

1. A. "THE/ MUSICAL READER:/ Or/ Practical Lessons For The Voice;/ consisting of Phrases, Sections, Periods, And Entire Movements/ Of Melody In Score. / To Which Are Prefixed/ The Rudiments Of Music. / Compiled Principally For The Use of Schools; / By Thomas Hastings/ Utica:/ Printed Typographically By William Williams, / No. 60, Genesee-Street./ 1817." 23 cm. 80 pp. MWA NNUT

B. [Same except] "Revised & Enlarged . . . 1819." 84 pp. NNUT MWA

This publication is not primarily a tune book, but is included because Hastings intended it as a manual for the introduction to Musica Sacra, and in some cases it is bound with Musica Sacra.

2. A. [Hastings] "MUSICA SACRA:/ A Collection Of/ Psalm Tunes, Hymns, And Set Pieces/ Compiled At The Request, And Published Under The Patronage/ Of The Oneida County Musical Society/ Utica:/ Printed By Seward And Williams. / 1815." 22 x 12 cm. 193 pp. music [9]-176. Last 16 pages are "Select Chants And Psalm Tunes For The Episcopal Church." MWA

B. [Hastings] "Second edition, Revised & Corrected. Utica: Printed and Published by Seward and Williams . . . 1816." 21.5 cm. 184 pp. + 16 + 20 MWA

16 pages at end have "Select Chants," and 20 pages have a cantata, an anthem and a hymn.

C. Variant of B. Same t.p. but 88 pp. complete. CtHC

D. MUSICA SACRA:/ OR/ SPRINGFIELD AND UTICA COLLECTIONS/ UNITED:/ Consisting Of/ Psalm And Hymn Tunes, Anthems And Chants;/ Arranged For Two, Three Or Four Voices, With A Figured Bass For The/ Organ Or Piano Forte./ By Thomas Hastings And Solomon Warriner./ Revised Edition./ Utica:/ Printed And Published By William Williams,/ No. 60, Genesee Street./ 1818." 21.5 x 13.5 cm. octavo music [9]-273. Pp. 265-273 have "Select Chants." Index [274-276]. MWA RPB DLC CtHC

E. "MUSICA SACRA . . . Second Revised Edition . . . Utica . . . 1819." 22.5 cm. 277 pp. [265]-277 is "Select Chants." [Found in 30 libraries]. DLC CtY MB MH MWA NNUT RPB

The merger of Warriner's Springfield Collection with Hasting's Musica Sacra was the beginning of a highly successful series which included ten revised editions and numerous reprints to 1838. Extensive revisions were made from time to time.

HEWITT, JAMES (1770-1827)

"HARMONIA SACRA,/ Being A Collection Of/ Psalm And Hymn Tunes,/ Selected And Adapted/ From The Works Of Handel, Luther, Ravenscroft, T. Clark/ Drs. Croft, Arnold, Howard, Boyce, &c. &c./ With Which Are Interspersed/ A Number of New Tunes,/ Composed Expressly For This Work./ The Whole Arranged For Three or Four Voices, By/ J. Hewitt,/ Organist of Trinity Church./ Printed By Joseph T. Buckingham,/ Winter-Street./ 1812." 22.5 cm octavo 120 pp. NNUT DLC MB MWA CtHC

HILL, URI K.

1. "THE/ HANDELIAN REPOSITORY,/ No. I./ Containing/ Hill's Introduction To Singing,/ And/ A Selection Of Sacred Music,/ Formed with great care, from the best European and American publications./ By Uri K. Hill./ New-York:/ Published by M'Dermut & Arden./ Printed by S. Woodworth And Co./ 1814." c. 9" x 6" CtY

2. "THE/ SACRED MINSTREL. / NO. 1. / Containing/ An Introduction to Psalmody, / A Practical Essay on Modulation, / And/ A Collection of Sacred Music, suitable for religious Worship, selected and/ composed by/ Uri K. Hill. / Boston:/ Printed And Sold By Manning & Loring, No. 2, Cornhill. . . . 1806." 13.5 x 21.5 cm. 72 pp. DLC MWA Ct-HC

3. "SOLFEGGIO AMERICANO/ A System of Singing/ For The/ American Conservatorio/ with a/ Variety of Psalmody/ suited to every metre/ composed & collected by/ Uri K. Hill. / Sold by R. Meetz, & Tiebout & sons." [New York, 1820]. 9 x 16.5 cm. 96 pp. MWA

4. "THE/ VERMONT HARMONY. / Volume I. / Containing, / A Collection of/ Sacred Vocal Music. / Part Of Which Is Original. / By Uri K. Hill. / Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed, Typographically, at Northampton, / By Andrew Wright. —For the Compiler. — 1801." 13 x 21.5 cm. 79 pp. MWA

HOLDEN, OLIVER (1765-1844)

1. "THE CHARLESTOWN COLLECTION OF SACRED SONGS. Adapted to Public and Private Devotion, Principally Original Compositions . . . Boston, Printed, typographically, by Isaiah Thomas & Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1803." 13 x 22.5 cm. 80 pp. NNUT DLC MB

2. "UNION HARMONY, OR UNIVERSAL COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSIC, in Two Volumes. Vol. I . . . Third edition, with Corrections and Improvements . . . Printed, typographically, by Isaiah Thomas & Ebenezer T. Andrews: Sold by them at Faust's Statue . . . by said Thomas, in Worcester; by the editor, at his store in Charlestown; by Thomas, Andrews & Penniman, Albany; By Thomas, Andrews & Butler, Baltimore; and by the Booksellers in Town and Country. Oct. 1801." 13 x 22 cm. 124 pp. ICN MWA NL RPB

   This is the 3rd edition of the series begun in 1793; 2nd edition in 1796. Volume II was issued only once in 1796.

3. "LAUS DEO" / THE/ WORCESTER COLLECTION OF SACRED HARMONY. / Containing/ I. The Rules of Vocal Music, in a Concise and Plain Manner/ II. A Large and Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes,Anthems, &c. Proper for Divine Worship. / III. An Appendix, Consisting of 80 Tunes, Most of which are Original Compositions. / The Whole Compiled For The Use of Schools and Singing Societies. / The Eighth Edition, Altered, Corrected, And Revised, With Large Additions. / By Oliver Holden/ Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed, Typographically, At Boston, / By Isaiah Thomas And Ebenezer T. Andrews. / Sold at their Bookstore, No. 45, Newbury-Street, by said Thomas, in Worcester; and by the Booksellers in Town and Country. —Dec., 1803/ Price— 1 Dollar Single, 10 Dols. Per Doz." 13.5 x 22.5 cm. 79 pp. NNUT DLC MWA

The Appendix, mentioned above, is The Charlestown Collection, which could be purchased separately. [See #1 above.]

HOLT, BENJAMIN, Jr. (1774-1861)

1. "THE/ NEW-ENGLAND SACRED HARMONY. / Being Principally An/ Original Composition./ In Three And Four Parts. / Adapted To The Various Metres In Common Use. / By Benjamin Holt, Jun. / Published according to Act Of Congress. / Printed at Boston, / By Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews. / Sold by them at No. 45, Newbury Street, by the Booksellers in general, and by the Author, head of Russell Street, Boston. —1803." 13.5 x 22 cm. 55 pp. MWA DLC

2. [See Bartholemew Brown].

HOLYOKE, SAMUEL (1762-1820)

1. "THE/ CHRISTIAN HARMONIST:/ Containing/ A Set of Tunes adapted to all the Metres in Mr. Rippon's Selection of Hymns, in the Collection/ of Hymns by Mr. Joshua Smith, and in Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns. / To Which Are Added, / Hymns On Particular Subjects, / Set throughout;/ Two Anthems, and a Funeral Dirge;/ With A/ Concise Introduction of Practical Principles. / The whole in a familiar Style, designed for the Use of the/ Baptist Churches in the United States. / Selected and Com-

posed by Samuel Holyoke, A. M. / Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed by Joshua Cushing, Salem, Massachusetts. / 1804." 23 x 29 cm. 198 pp.
MB MWA DLC Ct-HC

A second printing for 1804 at MWA.

2. "THE/ COLUMBIAN REPOSITORY/ OF/ SACRED HARMONY. / Selected From European And American Authors, With Many New Tunes/ Not Before Published. / Including the Whole of Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns, to each of which a Tune is adapted, and/ some additional Tunes suited to the particular Metres in Tate and Brady's, and/ Dr. Belknap's Collection of Psalms and Hymns. / With An/ Introduction Of Practical Principles. / The Whole Designed For The Use Of Schools, Musical Societies, And Worshipping Assemblies. / By Samuel Holyoke, A. M. / Published According To Act of Congress. / From The Music-Press of Henry Ranlet, Exeter, New Hampshire." [c. 1802]. 23 x 28.5 cm. 471 pp.
NN MWA DLC ICN NNUT RPB TxU

Some confusion exists with regard to the date of this publication. Metcalf noted that it was entered for copyright April 2, 1802; however, DLC lists an edition for [ca. 1800]; NNUT lists one for [1809], although Henry Ranlet was not alive at that time. A second issue may have occurred c. 1805.

3. "THE OCCASIONAL COMPANION, in Twelve Numbers, Containing Hymn Tunes, Odes, Anthems, &c. . . . Boston: Printed by Thomas Badger, Jr. [N. d.]." [1820]. 29 cm. 120 pp. MWA

Issued between 1817 and 1820. Twelve issues were contemplated, but only seven appeared. Holyoke died in 1820.

4. "THE/ VOCAL COMPANION/ Containing/ A Concise Introduction / To The/ Practice of Music, / And/ A Set of Tunes of Various Metres, Arranged Progressively/ For The Use of Learners. / Compiled by Samuel Holyoke, A. M. / Exeter, N. H. / From the Music-Press of Norris & Sawyer . . . Sold Wholesale And Retail at Their Book-Store. / 1807." 24o 174 pp. DLC NN

HOUGH, GEORGE. [See "MODERN HARMONY"].

HOWE, SOLOMON (1750-1835)

1. "Glory to God in the highest, peace on Earth, good will to men."/ THE/ FARMER'S EVENING ENTERTAINMENT. / Containing, / I. Characters, Rules and Directions for Vocal Music. / II. A Number of New Tunes of as various Airs and Metres as the compass of the Book will admit. / III. New Hymns, taken from sacred Writ, and adapted to the Tunes; Calculated for Social Worship. / By Solomon Howe, A. M. / Copy Right Secur'd to the Author fourteen years. / Printed at Northampton, / By Andrew Wright— For the Author. / Sold by him, in Greenwich; and by the Booksellers in Northampton, Boston, N. York, Albany, Hartford, Exeter, Providence, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Country/ Merchants. —Price 25 Cents. — 1804." 13 x 23 cm. 32 pp. MWA DLC

2. "[Title page exactly identical to above except for title] . . . WORSHIPPER'S ASSISTANT." [But content is completely changed.] 13 x 22.5 cm. 32 pp. RPB MWA

An earlier title of The Worshipper's Assistant was issued in 1799.

HUBBARD, JOHN (1759-1810)

"A VOLUME OF SACRED MUSICK, Containing Thirty Anthems, Selected from the Works of Handel, Purcel [sic], Croft and Other Eminent European Authors. Newburyport, Mass., Published by E. Little & Co., and sold at their respective Bookstores in Newburyport & Portland. Sold also by R. P. & C. Williams, Boston. 1814. C. Norris & Co. Printers." 24.5 x 29 cm. 119 pp. MH MWA RPB

HUNTINGTON, JONATHAN (1771-1838)

1. "THE/ APOLLO HARMONY, / Contains, / Plain and Intelligible Rules for Singing by Note, a Universal Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to/ all Metres and Keys, with a number of Set Pieces and Anthems, proper for all occasions, together with the/ Instructions for the Bass Viol, and German Flute: Selected from the most celebrated European and American Compositions, with some pieces entirely new. / Selected and Set by Jonathan Huntington. / Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed, Typographically, at Northampton, for the Compiler. / 1807." 13 x 21.5 cm. 127 pp. NNUT DLC MWA

2. "THE ENGLISH EXTRACTS, OR HAMPSHIRE MUSICAL MAGAZINE, No. I, II Containing Three Anthems and several hymns and Psalm Tunes . . . Extracted Principally from the Magdalen Chapel Collection of Hymns . . . Northampton, For the Compiler. —1809." 12.5 x 21 cm. 56 pp. MWA

   This copy was bound with The Apollo Harmony at MWA.

3. "CLASSICAL/ SACRED MUSICK/ With a Concise System of/ Rudiments./ Compiled and Arranged/ By Jonathan Huntington./ Boston:/ Published By Monroe & Francis, No. 4, Cornhill./ For the Compiler./ J. T. Buckingham, Printer, Winter-Street. /1812." 22 c. octavo 75 pp. ICN IEG MB MH MWA

HUSBAND, JOHN JENKINS. [See Andrew Adgate.]

INGALLS, JEREMIAH (1764-1828)

"THE/ CHRISTIAN HARMONY;/ Or,/ SONGSTER'S COMPANION./ By Jeremiah Ingalls./ Published according to Act of Congress./ Exeter, Newhampshire:/ Printed By Henry Ranlet, For the Compiler. / 1805." 13 x 23 cm. 198 pp. NN Vt MWA

JACKSON, GEORGE K. (1745-1823)

1. "A CHOICE COLLECTION/ of/ CHANTS/ For Four Voices/ with a/ Gloria Patri & Sanctus/ The Whole Figured with the Thorough Bass/ for the/ Organ/ As Used in Cathedrals, Churches, & Chapels./ Selected, Arranged, & Composed,/ By Dr. G. K. Jackson/ Copy Right Secured/ Price 1 Dollar." [Boston, 1816] 57 pp. CtHT-W MWA

   Copyright date is March 29, 1816, Dist. of Mass.

   Contains only 4-part chants; no psalm tunes.

2. "THE/ CHORAL COMPANION,/ And/ Elucidation/ of/ Dr. G. K. Jackson's/ Chants:/ The Whole Composed, Arranged, And Published/ By Him,/ For The Use of The Episcopal Churches./ Copy right secured. Price 50 cents./ Boston:/ Printed by Ezra Lincoln." [1817] 24 cm. 28 pp. DLC NRU

3. "DAVID'S PSALMS SET TO MUSIC Expressly For The Use of Churches, Chapels, Meetings & Private Families . . . Dr. Jackson, organist of St. George's Chapel, New York." [N. p., n. d.; New York? Copyright 1804.] 56 pp. DLC

[See also Jonathan Wainright, A Set of Chants, 1819.]

JANES, WALTER (1778-1827)

1. A. "THE HARMONIC MINSTRELSEY . . . Dedham, Mass. 1805." 248 pp. MdHi

   B. "THE HARMONIC MINSTRELSEY. Containing a New Collection of Sacred Music in Three And Four Parts . . . Together, with a Number of Set-Pieces, Choruses And Anthems . . . Chiefly Original. To Which is Prefixed—The Necessary Rules for Learners. The Whole Being Collected and Designed For The Use of Schools and Public Worship. By Walter Janes, Dedham: Printed by H. Mann, and Sold . . . at his Bookstore, and by the Various Booksellers in the United States.—1807." 13.5 x 23 cm. 103 pp. MWA NN

2. "THE/ MASSACHUSETTS HARMONY, / Consecrated To Devotion. / In Four Parts. / I. An Introduction to the Rudiments of Music, by way of Question and Answer. / II. A variety of useful Lessons to exercise the Learner in the use of Notes, and for the Tuning of his Voice. / III. A large number of Tunes, adapted to the various Metres and Keys usually performed in Churches. / IV. A number of Pieces adapted to particular Hymns, together with Elegiac Pieces, Odes and Anthems, / Never Before Published. / Designed particularly for the Use of the Singing Schools and Musical Assemblies in the United States. / By Walter Janes, / A Citizen of Massachusetts. / Published according to Act of Congress. / Boston:/ Printed By Manning & Loring, For the Author.—Octo. 1803." 13.5 x 22.5 cm. 128 pp. NNUT MWA

   Two other issues of the same during 1803.

JENKS, STEPHEN (1772-1856)

1. THE/ AMERICAN COMPILER OF SACRED HARMONY. / No. I. / Containing, / The Rules of Psalmody, together with a collection/

of/ Sacred Music. / Designed For The Use Of Worshipping Assemblies And Singing Societies. / By Stephen Jenks and Elijah Griswold. / Copy Right Secured, According to Act of Congress. / Printed, Typographically, at Northampton, Massachusetts. / For the Compilers, / Sold by said Jenks; Poundridge, N. York; by said Griswold, Simsbury, Con. by T. Rockwell & Co. Salem, N. Y., by Mitchell & Buell Poughkeepsie, by T. Lee & Co. New-Hartford; by E. Babcock, O. D. Cooke, Hartford; by Dr. J. Steele, Ellington; by S. Nichols & Co. Danbury; C. Collier, Litchfield and by the principal Booksellers in this part of the country. Oct. 1803."
64 pp. CtY ICU MNF Ct-HC

2. "LAUS DEO! / THE/ CHRISTIAN HARMONY. / In Two Parts. / Containing a Collection of Selected and Original Psalm and Hymn/ Tunes, from the most celebrated Authors. / By Stephen Jenks. / Dedham:—Printed By H. Mann, For the Authors. —January 1811."
12.5 x 21.5 cm. 39 pp. MWA RPB

3. A. "THE/ DELIGHTS OF HARMONY, / Being A Collection Of/ Psalm And Hymn Tunes, / With A Variety Of Set Pieces, / Never Before Published. / Likewise The/ Necessary Rules of Psalmody made easy. / The whole particularly designed for the use of Singing Schools, and Musical Societies in the United States. / By Stephen Jenks. / New=Haven, Printed for the Editor. / 1804."
12 x 21 cm. engraved 68 pp. DLC CtY NN

B. A second issue for 1804 has "Engraved and printed for the author by the office of A. Doolittle, New Haven 1804." The introductory material is also re-arranged.

C. Another engraved issue is "DELIGHTS OF HARMONY. / or a choice Collection . . . [A. Doolittle], New Haven, [1805]."
RPB

D. Same as C except "New Canaan, Conn., 1805." CtHT-W

4. "THE/ DELIGHTS OF HARMONY, OR, NORFOLK COMPILER, / Being a New Collection of/ Psalm Tunes, Hymns and Anthems;/ With a Variety of Set Pieces, / From the Most Approved American & European Authors. / Likewise, the Necessary Rules of Psalmody Made Easy. / The Whole particularly Designed for the Use of Singing Schools and Musical Societies in the United States/ by

Stephen Jenks/ Dedham, Massachusetts: Printed by H. Mann, for the Author, & Co. — 1805."/ Music-Printing-Executed with fidelity and dispatch. — A General Assortment constantly for sale at his Book-Store. /. 13 x 23 cm. 95 pp. [97]-112.
NN MWA ICN DLC CtHC

See also Abner Ellis, "Additional Music," which is an appendix to this tune-book, pp. [97]-112.

5. "LAUS DEO! / THE/ DELIGHTS OF HARMONY;/ Or/ UNION COMPILER. / No. II. / Being a Collection of The Most Celebrated European and American/ Music, / Chiefly Original. / Designed Particularly/ For The Use Of Singing Schools And Musical Societies In The United States. / By Stephen Jenks. / Copy-Right Secured Agreeably To Law. / Dedham—Massachusetts:/ Printed At The Music-Press of H. Mann, For The Author, And Sold At His Bookstore, And By The Booksellers In The Principal Places In The Union. — January—1806." 13.5 x 23 cm. 48 pp. MWA

6. "LAUS DEO! / THE/ HARMONY OF ZION, OR UNION COMPILER. / Containing/ A Concise Introduction To The Grounds Of Musick. / Also, / A Choice Collection Of Church Musick, And Anthems. / Principally From European Anthors. / By Stephen Jenks. / Dedham:—Printed By Daniel Mann, For The Author, Proprietor Of The Copy-Right. 1818." 14 x 23 cm. 79 pp.
MWA MHi RPB ICN MB RHi Ct-HC

7. "THE MUSICAL HARMONIST . . . Second Edition . . . 1803" [not located]. See New England Harmonist, 1800.

8. "THE/ ROYAL HARMONY OF ZION COMPLETE. / Containing A Concise Introduction To The Ground Of Music; With A Choice/ Collection Of Psalm Tunes; Calculated To Express Each Metre/ In Common Use, Distinctly And Emphatically. / Collected From The Most Approved European And American Authors. / Designed Particularly For Singing Schools In The United States. / By S. Jenks. / Dedham:/ Printed By H. Mann, For The Author— February 1810." 32 pp. CtY ICN

JOHNSON, ALEXANDER

"JOHNSON'S TENNESSEE HARMONY . . . Cincinnati, 1818." [not located].

Second edition, 1821, had 118 pp.

KENT, EMANUEL

A. "DAVID'S HARP . . . Baltimore, 1812." [not located].

B. "DAVID'S HARP/ A Selection of Tunes in three & four Parts/ Adapted to all the Various Metres in the/ Methodist Hymn Book/ With Anthems and other Pieces and/ an Introduction to the Art of Singing/ Second Edition, greatly enlarged and Improved/ By/ Emanuel Kent./ Baltimore Publish'd by John Cole No. 125-1/2 Market Street." [181-?].

KIMBALL, JACOB (1761-1826)

"THE ESSEX HARMONY, PART II. Consisting of Original Pieces by Kimball, Holyoke and Others . . . Salem: Joshua Cushing and Heart, 1802." 100 pp. MSaE CtY ICN

LAW, ANDREW (1748-1821)

The publications of Andrew Law are especially complex to list. A number of publications are combined in varying combinations under the title The Art Of Singing. The reader is referred to the unpublished Master's Thesis by Joyce Ellen Mangler "Andrew Law—Musical Reformer," (May, 1956), which contains a full bibliography of Law's publications.

1. A. "THE/ ART OF SINGING;/ In Three Parts: viz./ I. THE MUSICAL PRIMER,/ II. THE CHISTIAN [sic] HARMONY,/ III. THE MUSICAL MAGAZINE./ By Andrew Law./ Published according to Act of Congress. Part I. Cheshire, Conn.: Printed by William Law./ M,DCCC." [1800]. 13 x 21.5 cm. 224 pp. MWA RPB

This volume, dated [1800] is included in this list, because The Musical Magazine, the third portion of the book, was not completed until November 1801, making the binding of the full volume doubtful before 1802. The advertisement read "The divisions of the following work firstly published in detached parts. They have since been collected, and . . . in this edition, calculated to form a consistent whole. The second part, or the Christian Harmony, has been heretofore subdivided in two volumes; but that division . . . is discontinued . . ."

B. "THE/ ART OF SINGING;/ . . . Fourth Edition With Additions And Improvements. / Printed Upon A New Plan. / Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed At Cambridge, By W. Hilliard. 1803." t.p. [1]-[6].

"THE/ MUSICAL PRIMER;/ Or The/ First Part Of The Art Of Singing:/ Containing The Rules Of/ Psalmody/ Newly Revised And Improved;/ Together/ With a number of Practical Lessons and Plain Tunes;/ Designed expressly for the use of Learners. / By Andrew Law." t.p. [7, (8 blank)], [9]-23, index [24], [25]-32, 33-96.

"THE ART OF SINGING; . . . Printed upon a New Plan. Part Second. Published according to Act of Congress. Printed at Windsor, (Vermont) by Nahum Mower . . . 1805." t.p. [97]. copyright [98].

"THE/ CHRISTIAN HARMONY:/ Or The/ Second Part Of The Art Of Singing:/ Comprising A Select Variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes:/ Calculated For Schools And Churches./ By Andrew Law." t.p. [99], copyright [100], 101-103, index 104; 105-160.

"THE ART OF SINGING . . . Printed upon a new plan. Part Third. Published According to Act of Congress. Boston; Printed for the Author, by E. Lincoln. . . . 1805." t.p. [1], copyright [2].

"THE MUSICAL MAGAZINE; Being The Third Part of The Art of Singing; Containing a Variety of Anthems and Favorite Pieces. A Periodical Publication. By Andrew Law. Fourth Edition, with Additions and Improvements. Printed Upon a New Plan. Published according to Act of Congress. No. I. Printed for the Author, by E. Lincoln." [1805] Orig. appeared in six parts. t.p. [3]; copyright [4]; advt. [5]; errors [6]-7]; index [8]; 9-96, 89-112.

Pages are numbered independently from Parts I and II of the complete volume. Pages 89-112 following 9-96 appear in some copies of this edition, and correspond to identical pages in The Harmonic Companion. The Magazine was published under separate copyright Nov. 5, 1804, and appeared prior to The Christian Harmony, according to its advertisement which said "The Second Part, or Christian Harmony will soon be printed in this way."

This "Fourth" complete edition is actually the Third complete edition, although it is the 4th edition of Part I, The Musical Primer, which appeared separately in [1793].

This edition is completely in the four shape notation without staff lines. This is the "new plan."

Library editions are bound in a number of completely different ways. The complete edition of this tune-book was not available, however, until 1805.

The above bibliographical information is derived from Joyce Ellen Mangler's thesis mentioned above.

C. "THE ART OF SINGING . . . Fifth Edition, Printed Upon the Author's New Plan, with Seven Characters . . . Part Third. Printed by Robert and William Carr, No. 51, Sansom Street." [c. 1810]. t.p. [1]

"MUSICAL MAGAZINE, being the Third Part of The Art of Singing . . . Fifth edition . . . Number First. Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, by Robert and William Carr, No. 51, Sansom St." t.p. [3]; copy. [4], [5]-7. index [8]; 9-16, 17-40, 41-96.

D. "THE ART OF SINGING . . . printed upon the Author's New Plan with Seven Characters. Part Third. Philadelphia: Printed by Jane Aitken, No. 71, North Third Street." [c. 1811]. t.p. [97]; copy. [98].

"THE MUSICAL MAGAZINE . . . Number Second. Philadelphia: Printed by Jane Aitken, No. 71, North Third Street." t.p. [99]; advt. [100]; 101-128. RPB

2. "A CHOICE COLLECTION OF CHURCH MUSIC, particularly Adapted to the Pocket Hymn Book, used by the Methodist Society in the United States. Philadelphia: David Hogan, 51 S. 3rd St., from the Press of Thomas T. Stiles, 1807." [single t.p. at DLC].

3. A. "HARMONIC COMPANION/ And/ GUIDE TO SOCIAL WORSHIP:/ Being/ A Choice Selection of Tunes, / Adapted to the various Psalms and Hymns, used by the different Societies in the United States;/ Together With The Principles Of Music, And Easy Lessons For Learners. / By Andrew Law. / Printed Upon The Author's New Plan. — Fourth Edition. / Philadelphia:/ / Published by the Author, Printed by Thomas T. Stiles and David Hogan, No. 51, S. 3rd St. [c. 1807]. 13 x 22.1 cm. 120 pp. MB MWA

   Pages 89-111 identical with 88-111 in The Musical Magazine, 1805.

   B. [Metcalf lists edition for 1810, American Psalmody, p. 34.]

   C. "Third Edition. Philadelphia: Printed for Wm. Woodward & the Author, by R. & W. Carr, No. 2 Hartung's Alley," [c. 1814]. 13.5 x 21.5 cm. 120 pp. RPB MWA CtHC

   D. "Fourth Edition. Philadelphia, Printed for the Author by Thomas H. Palmer, 1819." 13.5 x 23 cm. 120 pp. NjR NNUT CtY MWA PLF

4. "MUSICAL PRIMER: Containing the Rules Of Psalmody, Newly Revised and Improved. Together with a Number of Practical Lessons and Plain Tunes, Designed Expressly For the Use of Learners. By Andrew Law. Third Edition, printed Upon the Author's New Plan. Philadelphia. Printed for the Author, by Anderson & Meehan, No. 59 Locust St." [c. 1819]. 12.5 x 22.5 cm. 16 pp. NNUT CtY

   Third edition means the third "shape-note edition. This is actually the sixth edition of the Primer.

5. "SUPPLEMENT TO THE MUSICAL PRIMER, Containing a Variety of Plain and Simple Tunes. By Andrew Law. Printed Upon the Author's New Plan. Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, by Robert and William Carr, No. 51, Sansom St." [c. 1811].

6. A. "SELECT HARMONY, . . . Phila. [1807]". CtHT-W

B. "SELECT HARMONY. / Containing In A Plain And Concise Manner, / The Rules Of Singing;/ And/ Easy Lessons For Learners; / Together with a Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes. / By Andrew Law. / Printed Upon The Author's New Plan With Lines and Spaces. / Philadelphia;/ Printed For The Author, By Robert and William Carr, No. 51, Sansom Street." [c. 1811?] MWA

LESLIE, BENJAMIN

"THE/ CONCERT HARMONY;/ OR, / YOUTH'S ASSISTANT TO SACRED MUSIC. / In Two Parts. / Part I. Contains/ The Rudiments Of Sacred Vocal Music. / Part II. Contains/ A Valuable Variety Of Tunes Of All Metres Common In Churches, And A/ Number Of Set Pieces And Anthems Suitable For Divine Worship, / On Various Occasions. / Principally Original. / By Benjamin Leslie. / Salem:— Printed For The Author. —1811." 13 x 22 cm. 136 pp.
DLC MWA MSaE

LEWIS, FREEMAN (1780-1859)

A. "THE BEAUTIES OF HARMONY . . . Pittsburgh, Printed by Looker & Wallace, for Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum and Freeman Lewis, 1814." 200 pp. IaHA

B. "THE/ BEAUTIES OF HARMONY, / Containing/ The Rudiments Of Music On A New And Improved Plan; Including, With The Rules Of Singing, / An Explanation Of The Rules And Principles Of Composition. / Together With/ An Extensive Collection of Sacred Music, / Consisting of/ Plain Tunes, Fuges, Anthems, &c. Some Of Which Are Entirely New. / To The Whole Is Added/ An Appendix, / Containing explanations of musical terms, characters, &c. original and selected. / By Freeman Lewis. / And Sold At The Franklin Head Bookstore, Market Street. / 1816. / Robert Ferguson & Co. print." [Second edition] 14 x 22 cm. 200 pp. Shape-notes. MWA

C. Third Edition. "Pittsburgh:/ Printed And Published By Cramer And Spear . . . 1818." 200 pp. WHi RPB

D. "Fourth Edition. Pittsburgh: Printed And Published By Cramer & Spear . . . 1820." 13.5 x 22 cm. 200 pp. NNUT

LITTLE, HENRY

"THE WESLEYAN HARMONY, a Compilation of Choice Tunes for Public Worship Adapted to the various Metres in the Methodist Hymn Book Now in Use. Hallowell, [c. 1820]." A 2nd edition in 1821 had 139 pp. NNUT

LITTLE, WILLIAM & SMITH, WILLIAM

Irving Lowens has compiled a bibliography of *The Easy Instructor* to which this listing is indebted. Only the short titles are listed below; complete information is found in Lowens' listing.

Aa. "THE EASY INSTRUCTOR; / Or/ A NEW METHOD OF TEACHING/ SACRED HARMONY/ Containing, / I. The Rudiments of Music on an Improved Plan, Wherein the Naming and Timing of the Notes are Familiarized to the Weakest Capacity. / II. A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems, from the most celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the Metres sung in the different Churches in the United States. / Published for the use of Singing Societies in general, but more particularly for those who have not the advantage of an Instructor. / By William Little and William Smith. / Philadelphia, 1801./" 14 x 23.5 cm. 105 pp. CtHC

Originally advertised in 1798, this edition did not reach print until 1801. Notice of publication appears in *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register,* Aug. 22, 1801.

Ab. [New York: G. & R. Waite, 1802]. 105 pp.
CtHT-W DLC MWA RPB

B. "Albany: Printed by Charles R. and George Webster, and Daniel Steele, Proprietors of the Copy-right . . . 1805." 13.5 x 23 cm. 108 pp. NN

C. Albany . . . 1806. 108 pp. MWA NcWsMMF

Da. Albany . . . 1807. 108 pp. NjR NcWsMMF

Db. slightly variant. DLC ICN MWA NjR NN WaU

E. Albany . . . 1808. 108 pp. CtHT-W IU MWA NNUT

F. Albany . . . [1809]. 104 pp. DLC NN

G. Albany . . . [1810]. 104 pp. CtHC DLC ICN MWA NNUT

H. Albany . . . [1810]. 104 pp. MiU-C

I. Albany . . . [1811]. 104 pp. ICN N NcWsMMF

J. Albany . . . [1812]. 112 pp. RPB

K. Albany . . . [1813]. 112 pp. DLC ICN OCHP

L. Albany . . . [1813]. 112 pp. MWA NN

Ma. Albany . . . [1814]. 112 pp. CBB DLC ICN MWA NN NNUT

Mb. slightly variant [1814] 112 pp. CtHT-W MBC N

Mc. [same] [1815] 112 pp. CtHC MWA

N. Albany . . . [1815]. 112 pp. NN NNS RPB

Oa. Albany . . . [1816]. 112 pp. MB N NNUT

Ob. Albany . . . [1816]. 112 pp. MWA NcWsMMF

P. Albany . . . [1817]. 120 pp. DLC MWA RPB CtHT-W

Q. Albany . . . [1817]. 127 pp. CLU DLC

R. Albany . . . [1818]. 127 pp. NHi NN MHi N

S. "Utica: Printed by William Williams, No. 60, Genesee Street.
1818." 126 pp. CtY DLC ICN MH MWA

T. Albany . . . [1819]. 127 pp. ICN NcWsMMF

*U. "Cincinnati: Printed by J. Pace, No. 106, Main-Street. 1819." 112 pp. OC

V. Albany . . . [1820]. 127 pp. ICU NcWsMMF

W. Utica . . . 1820. 126 pp. CtY MWA NN

Editions follow until 1831.

MADAN, REV. MARTIN (1726-1790)

[Madan] "THE COLLECTION OF PSALM AND HYMN TUNES sung at the Lock Hospital. From the Last London Edition. Boston, West & Blake, and Manning & Loring, Printers. 1809." 25.5 cm. 198 pp. MB MWA NNUT DLC

MANN, ELIAS (1750-1825)

1. THE/ MASSACHUSETTS COLLECTION OF SACRED HARMONY. / Containing/ A Plain And Concise Introduction To The Grounds Of Music:/ Also, / A Large Number Of Psalm Tunes, / Selected from the most approved and eminent Authors; adapted to the different Metres and Keys generally used in Churches. / Together With/ A Number of Select Pieces And Anthems, Suitable For Various Occasions. / By Elias Mann. / Boston: Printed By Manning And Loring, For The Author. . . . 1807." 14 x 22 cm. 199 pp. DLC MWA MS

2. "THE/ NORTHAMPTON COLLECTION OF SACRED HARMONY. / In Three Parts. / Containing, / I. A Plain and Concise Introduction to the Grounds of Music. / II. A large Number of Psalm Tunes, selected from the most approved and eminent Authors. And Adapted them to all/ the different Metres and Keys used in Churches. / III. A Number of Pieces of Several Verses each, many of which are compositions Never Before Publishtd [sic], and calcu-/ lated for the use of Churches, and Extraordinary Occasions;—with a number of universally approved Anthems. / By Elias Mann. / Published According to Act of Congress. / Printed, Typographically, At Northampton, / By Andrew Wright.—

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*William W. Woodward in his Catalogue of Books (Philadelphia, 1819) lists a Little & Smith volume printed in Harrisburg, "with a number of tunes not in other editions."

For Daniel Wright.—1802." 24o 135 pp. DLC MWA MB

Another issue for 1802 at CtHT-W. First published 1797.

MANN, H. [See Oliver Shaw].

MAXIM, ABRAHAM (1773-1829)

1. A. "THE/ NORTHERN HARMONY;/ Being A Collection/ From The Works Of Many Approved Authors/ Of Sacred Music;/ Containing, / I. The Rudiments of Music, laid down in a Plain and Comprehensive Manner. / II. Psalm and Hymn Tunes, adapted to the various Metres, in common use, / together with several Anthems. / Calculated For The Use of Singing Schools, And Religious Societies. / By Abraham Maxim. /Exeter, Newhampshire:/ Printed At The Music-Press Of Henry Ranlet, For The Compiler. / 1805." 13 x 23 cm. 151 pp. RPB

   B. "Second Edition . . . Corrected, And Enlarged . . . Exeter . . . N.H. / Printed By Norris & Sawyer, and Sold at their Bookstore . . . Sold also by Thomas & Andrews, David West, Boston;/ Charles Pierce, Thomas & Tappan, Portsmouth; Isaac Adams, Portland . . . 1808." 13 x 22.5 cm. 205 pp. DLC MHi

   C. Third Edition . . . [not located, N.d.].

   D. Fourth Edition . . . Hallowell, 1816. [Not located.]

   E. "Fifth Edition . . . Corrected, Improved, and Enlarged. Hallowell . . . Me. / Published and Sold by E. Goodale. Sold also by Isaac Adams, W. Hyde, Portland; and by the principal Booksellers in the New England States. From the Music Press of E. Goodale. 1819." 24o 142 pp. DLC [t.p. only].

2. "THE/ ORIENTAL HARMONY;/ Being An/ Original Composition, / In Three Parts. / Part I. — The Rudiments of Music: or, Rules for Learners. / Part II. — Psalm and Hymn tunes, of various Metres. / Part III. —Anthems. / Designed Chiefly for the Use of Singing Schools, and Worshipping Assemblies. / By Abraham Maxim. / Published According To Act of Congress. / From the

Music-Press of Henry Ranlet, Exeter. / 1802." 24o 56 pp.
DLC

MENNONITE CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

A. "Ein neues, unpartheyisches Gesangbuch zum Allgemeinen Gebrauchs des wahren Gottesdienstes. Auf Begehren der Brüderschaft der Menonisten Gemeinen aus vielen Liederbücher gesammelt. Mit einem dreyschen Register versehen. Erste Ausgabe. Lancaster: Johann Albrecht, 1804." 18 cm. 415 pp. 2-17 pp. MWA

Bound with *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch,* 1804. This is a hymnal, containing only one line of music with the text.

B. Second Edition. "Lancaster, Georg & Peter Albrecht, 1808." 466 pp. MWA DLC

C. Third Improved Edition. "Lancaster: Johann Bär, 1820." 472 pp. MWA

METCALF, SAMUEL LYTLER (1798-1856)

A. "THE KENTUCKY HARMONIST . . . [1817?]. [not located.]

B. "THE/ KENTUCKY HARMONIST, / Being/ A Choice Selection Of Sacred Music, / From The/ Most Eminent And Approved Authors In That Science, / For The Use Of/ Christian Churches, of every denomination, Singing Schools, and Private Societies:/ Together With/ An Explanation Of The Rules And Principles Of Composition, And Rules For Learners. / Second Edition. / By Samuel L. Metcalf. / Cincinnati:/ Published For The Author. / Morgan, Lodge And Co. Printers. / 1820." 13.5 cm. 130 pp. MWA

MIDDLESEX COLLECTION

A. "THE/ MIDDLESEX COLLECTION OF CHURCH MUSIC:/ Or, / ANCIENT PSALMODY REVIVED. / Containing/ A Variety Of Plain Psalm Tunes, The Most Suitable To Be Used in Divine Service;/ To Which Is Annexed, / A Number of Other Pieces, Of a More Delicate And Artificial Construction, / Proper to be per-

formed by a Choir of good Musicians occasionally, in Schools and Public Religious Assemblies. / Boston:—Printed by Manning and Loring. No. 2, Cornhill . . . 1807. 135 pp.
DLC MWA NN

B. "Second Edition, Revised, Corrected, And Enlarged. / Boston: —. . . Manning & Loring . . . Oct. 1808." 167+ pp. Ct-HC

C. "Third Edition. "Boston: . . . Manning & Loring . . . . Nov. 1811." 160 pp. DLC MWA MB PPPrHi

MILLARD, CLEMENT

"THE UNITED STATES HARMONY . . . [1810?]. [not located.] Cited by Metcalf, American Psalmody, p. 40.

MITCHELL, NAHUM. [See Bartholemew Brown.]

MODERN HARMONY

"MODERN HARMONY:/ Or, / THE SCHOLAR'S TASK MADE EASY. / Being/ An Original Composition, In Three And Four Parts. / Written On An Entire New Plan. / Particularly To Lessen The Labor Of Beginners. / Containing, / An Introduction To The Grounds Of Music, With A Number Of Tunes And An-/thems Suitable For Divine Worship And For The/ Use of Musical Societies. / Concord Printed By George Hough—1808. Sold at his Bookstore, wholesale and retail." Not in standard notation. Letter names of music in 4 staff arrangement.
MWA Nh-Hi

MOORS, HEZEKIAH

"THE/ PROVINCE HARMONY:/ Being An/ Original Composition of Airs. / Consisting of Three and Four Parts. Adapted to all the Metres usually sung in Churches. / Together With a Brief/ Introduction To The Grounds Of Musick. / Calculated For The Use Of Singing Schools And Musical Societies. / By Hezekiah Moors. / Boston:/ Printed For The Author, By J. T. Buckingham.—1809."
CtY RPB

MUSICAL CATECHISM

"MUSICAL/ CATECHISM:/ In Three Parts./ For The Use Of Schools And Private/ Families./ Third Edition,/ With Additions And Corrections./ Philadelphia:/ Published And Sold By D. Hogan, No. 249,/ Market-Street./ 1811./ W. M'Culloch, Printer." 58 pp. MWA PP

An 1803 edition contains no music.

NEVIUS, JOHN W. (1774-1854)

A. "THE/ NEW-BRUNSWICK COLLECTION/ OF/ SACRED MUSIC:/ Being/ A Choice Selection Of Tunes, For The Use Of Churches,/ From The Most Celebrated Authors,/ In Europe And America./ By John W. Nevius, Cornelius Van Deventer, And John Frazee./ Teachers of Sacred Music, in the State of New Jersey./ New-Brunswick:/ Published by J. W. Nevius & W. Myer, and for sale by Terhune & Letson, New-Brunswick, by the different Booksellers in New-Jersey, and by S. & J. Taylor,/ Booksellers, No. 384 North Second-Street Philadelphia./ W. Myer, Printer./ 1817." 72 pp. MWA NjR PPPrHi

B. "Second Edition, Revised./ Published By William Myer, New-Brunswick,/ And D. & E. Fenton, Trenton, N.J./ W. Myer, Printer./ 1818." 14 x 23 cm. 72 pp. DLC NjR MWA

[Eight editions to 1840.]

NEWHALL, JAMES

"THE/ VOCAL HARMONY./ Containing,/ The Rudiments of Vocal Music, in a concise manner, and a number of Original/ Airs, suitable for Divine Worship./ By James Newhall, Philo Musico./ Copy-Right Secured According to Act of Congress./ Printed, (Typographically,) At Northampton,/ By Andrew Wright.—For the Author./ 1803." 24 pp. MB

NEW YORK-John Street Church.

"WESLEYAN SELECTION./ Being/ A Supplement to David's Companion;/ Consisting of/ Anthems And Hymn Tunes,/ From

Several Authors, / And Used By The/ Wesleyan Sacred Music Society, / Belonging To The/ Methodist Episcopal Church in John-Street, / New York. / New York: Printed by Abraham Paul, Corner Of Water-Street And Burling-Slip. 1820." 92 pp. ICN

OLD COLONY MUSICAL SOCIETY

A. "No. 1/ OLD COLONY COLLECTION/ Of/ ANTHEMS. / Selected And Published Under The Particular Patronage And Direction / Of The/ Old Colony Musical Society. / Boston:/ Printed And Sold By Manning And Loring, No. 2, Cornhill. . . . Feb. 1814." 24 pp. MWA

B. "[Same] . . . Under the particular Patronage and Direction of the Old Colony Musical Society in Plymouth County, and the/ Handel And Haydn Society in Boston. / Vol. I. / Boston:/ Printed And Sold By James Loring, No. 2, Cornhill." [1817?]

C. Another imprint with identical content to B has "Vol. I, Second Edition." [c. 1818]. 22.5 x 27 cm. 196 pp.
NNUT MWA DLC

D. "[Same] . . . Selected And Published Under The Particular Patronage And Direction/ Of The/ Handel And Haydn Society In Boston. / Boston:/ Printed And Sold By James Loring, No. 2, Cornhill." Indicates Nos. 4, and 5, of Vol. II. or Nos. 12, 13 (probably of the entire set). [1819]. 194 pp. DLC MWA

E. [N. d.] Third Edition, Improved. 205 pp. DLC

OLMSTED, TIMOTHY (1759-1848)

A. "THE/ MUSICAL OLIO. / Containing, / I. A Concise Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note. / II. A variety of Psalm Tunes, Hymns and Set- Pieces, selected principally from European Authors, viz. Dr. / Croft, Dr. Green, Handel, Purcel, Dr. Wainwright, Dr. Randal, Dr. Burney, Dr. Alcock, Is. Smith, Milgrove, Dr. Madan, Holdroyd, Williams, Baildon, Oswald, Jennings, Harrison, Grigg, Coombs, Tucker, Walker, Breillat, Husband, / Dr. Worgan, Cuzens, Marsh, Boxwel, Dr. Arne, Lockhart, and Hepstinstall;—together with a number of Original Piec-/es, never before published. / Compiled and Com-

posed by/ T. Olmsted. / Published According to Act of Congress. /Printed, Typographically, At Northampton, / By Andrew Wright. / 1805." 14 x 24 cm. 112 pp.
MWA NNUT RPB NN DLC Ct-HC

B. ". . . Suited to the Metres used in our Religious Worshipping Assemblies: selected from the most celebrated/ Foreign Authors. / To This Edition Is Added/ A number of sublime Ancient Tunes; together with a few/ Original Pieces, / Never Before Published. / The Second Edition, Improved and Enlarged. / By T. Olmsted. / New-London:--Printed Typographically, By Samuel Green. —1811." 13.7 x 24 cm. 127 pp.
CtHi MHi MWA RPB DLC

PALFRAY, WARWICK (1787-1838)

"THE/ EVANGELICAL PSALMODIST:/ An Original Work;/ Consisting Of/ Plain Tunes, Fuges And Set Pieces. / In Three And Four Parts;/ Suitable For Schools And Singing Societies. / By Warwick Palfray. / Printed At Salem, By Joshua Cushing, For The Author. / 1802. Published according to Act of Congress." 24o 55 pp.
DLC MB MH

PATTERSON, ROBERT

A. "PATTERSON'S CHURCH MUSIC, Containing the Plain Tunes Used in Divine Worship, by the Churches of the Western Country. Second Edition. Cincinnati, Printed by Looker & Wallace, for Robert Patterson, Pittsburgh, 1815." 50 pp. OCHP OClWHi

B. [First Edition?]

PECK, DANIEL L.

1. A. "THE/ MUSICAL MEDLEY. / Containing/ The Necessary Rules Of/ Psalmody, / In A Very Concise And Explicit Manner: Together With A Number Of Set Pieces, / And A Great Variety Of Psalm Tunes, / Adapted To All The Different Metres Usually Sung In Churches. / The whole expressly calculated for the Use of Singing Schools and Musical Societies. / By Daniel L. Peck,

Musico Theorico. / Printed, Typographically, At The Music-Press of H. Mann, Dedham, For The Author. —1808.
13.5 x 22.5 cm. 103 pp. MWA

B. A variant index suggests another issue [N. d.].

2. "A/ VALUABLE SELECTION/ OF/ SACRED MUSIC:/ From/ European And American Authors;/ Adapted To All The Different Metres Usually Sung In Churches:/ Together With/ The Necessary Rules For Singing By Note. / By Daniel L. Peck. / Philadelphia:/ Printed Typographically For The Compiler, By W. M'Culloch, 306, Market-Street. / And Sold By The Principal Booksellers In The United States. / 1810."
14 x 22.5 cm. 104 pp. NNUT MWA Ct-HC

PHILADELPHIA-CATHOLIC CHURCH

"A COLLECTION OF LITANIES, VESPERS, CHANTS, HYMNS, AND ANTHEMS, as Used In The Catholic Churches Of Philadelphia, and Throughout the United States. A New Edition, Carefully Revised and Corrected From The Former Editions. Philadelphia: Published and Sold by Charles Taws, at his Music Store . . . 1814."
32.5 cm 87 pp. MWA

[Note similarity to publication listed under John Aitken.]

POOL, DAVID

"THE/ AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN HARMONY, / Or/ ABINGTON COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSICK. / Adapted To The Use Of Schools And Congregational Worship. / By David Pool And Josiah Holbrook. / Providence, (R. I.) . . . Printed by H. Mann & Co. / And Sold At Their Bookstores In Dedham And Providence. — Sold Also by Manning and Loring, Charles/ Williams, Boston; And At Other Various Bookstores In The Neighboring States. —Sold Also By/ The Authors in Abington, Massachusetts. —1813." 24o 206 pp. DLC MWA

PORTSMOUTH-SOUTH PARISH

"A/ COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSICK, / For The Use Of The/ South Parish In Portsmouth. / Exeter:/ Printed By C. Norris & Co. . . . 1814." 9.5 x 25 cm. 134 pp. DLC

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

1. "CHANTS, / OCCASIONAL PIECES, / AND/ PLAIN TUNES, / For The Use Of The/ Protestant Episcopal Churches/ In The United States. / Salem:/ Printed By Joshua Cushing. / 1814." octavo 63 pp. NNG MB MWA MBB

2. "A/ SELECTION/ OF/ PSALM TUNES, / For The Use Of The/ Protestant Episcopal Church/ In The State Of New York. / Recommended By The Convetion Of Said Church. / New York:/ Printed And Sold By T. And J. Swords, / No. 160 Pearl-Street. / 1812." 8o 72 pp. NNG NNUT DLC

READ, DANIEL.

1. A. "THE/ COLUMBIAN HARMONIST, / No. 2. / Containing/ First. A Plain and Concise Introduction to Psalmody fully calculated/ for the use of Singing Schools. / Second. A Choice Collection of Sacred Music for Public and Social Worship. / By Daniel Read/ Author of the American Singing Book. / New Haven: Printed for & Sold by the Editor and by the Principal Booksellers in the United States. / Copy Right Secured/ according/ to the Statute." [1801]. 12x 19 cm. engraved 41-71 pp. DLC

   B. "The Second Edition, Corrected & Improved. Printed typographically, at Dedham, by H. Mann . . . 1804." [Britton 1804a]. 24o 94 pp. DLC PMA RPB

   C. [1804b-Britton]; another issue for 1804.

   D. [1804c-Britton]; another issue for 1804.

   E. "Edition three, corrected and improved; Dedham, Printed by H. Mann, 1806." 125 pp. NN MWA

F. THE/ COLUMBIAN HARMONIST:/ Containing/ A Plain And Concise Introduction To Psalmody, / Expressly Calculated for the Use of Singing Schools;/ Together with/ A Choice of Sacred Music, for Public and Social Worship, / Consisting of/ More than one hundred Tunes and Anthems, carefully selected from the most approved American and/ European Authors, including several Tunes never before published. / The Third Edition, Corrected, Improved, and Enlarged. / By Daniel Read, Author of the American Singing Book. / Boston:—by Manning and Loring, No. 2, Cornhill. . . . 1807. / Sold, wholesale and retail, by Evert Duyckinck, New York: Manning and Loring, Boston: Beers & Howe, and the Editor, New-Haven." 11 pp. DLC MWA

G. "The Fourth Edition, Corrected And Improved . . . Boston: —Printed By Manning And Loring . . . 1810." 13 x 22 cm. 11 pp. DLC MWA NN

The first edition appeared in 1793 in three sections, the last being issued in 1795.

2. [Read, Daniel]. "THE/ NEW HAVEN COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSIC. / Containing/ A Set of Tunes Adapted To The Metres And Subjects Of The Psalms And Hymns In General Use. / Selected, Principally, From The/ Works Of The Most Eminent Authors. / By An Association of Gentlemen for the promotion of Classical Sacred Music in the United Society in New Haven. / To Which is Prefixed/ A Concise Introduction to Psalmody, For The Use Of Singing Schools. / Dedham:/ Printed Typographically By Daniel Mann. / 1818." 10 x 24 cm. 143 pp. DLC MWA MH

Metcalf indicated this tune-book was "Prepared by Eleazer T. Fitch and others and edited and prepared for publication by Daniel Read. American Writers, p. 97-98.

READ, JOEL (1753-1837)

1. A. "THE NEW-ENGLAND SELECTION:/ OR/ PLAIN PSALMODIST . . . Boston, Printed by J. T. Buckingham, for the Author, 1808." 124 pp. MHi RPaw

B. "THE NEW-ENGLAND SELECTION;/ OR/ PLAIN PSALMODIST. / Containing/ A Short Introduction to Psalmody, for the Use of Schools; / And A/ Variety Of Tunes Suited To Public Worship. / Original And Selected. . . . The Second Edition. / By Joel Read. / Boston: Printed For The Author, By Manning And Loring. / Sold By Manning And Loring, No. 2, Cornhill; And By John Brewer, Providence, (R.I.). . . . 1812." 13.5 x 22 cm. 127 pp. MB MWA NNUT DLC

2. Supplement of 24 pp. added to Daniel Read's *Columbian Harmodist*, 2nd ed. 1804.

REED, EPHRAIM

A. "MUSICAL MONITOR;/ OR/ NEW YORK COLLECTION/ of/ Devotional Church Music . . . Utica; William Williams, 1817." 22 cm. 119 pp. NNUT MWA

B. "MUSICAL MONITOR, / OR/ NEW-YORK COLLECTION/ OF/ Devotional Church Music:/ Consisting Of/ Psalm And Hymn Tunes, Anthems, &c. Arranged For Two, / Three, Or Four Voices:/ Compiled For The Promotion And Improvement Of/ Sacred Music:/ Designed Particularly For The Convenience/ And Use of Societies And Schools. / By Ephraim Reed. / Revised Edition. / Ithaca:/ Printed By Mack & Searing. / 1820." octavo 199 pp. DLC MWA

4th ed. 1825; 5th ed. 1827; 6th ed. [William J. Edson], 1830.

REFORMED CHURCH IN THE U.S.

A. "DAS NEUE UND VERBESSERTE GESANGBUCH . . ./ Third edition/ . . . Phila: M. Billmeyer, 1807."

B. "DAS/ neue und verbesserte/ Gesangbuch/ worinnen die/ Psalmen Davids/ samt einer/ Sammlung/ alter und neuer/ Geistreicher Lieder/ sowohl für privat und Hausandachten, als auch für den/ öffentlichen Gottesdienst enthalten sind. / [N]ebst einen Anhang des/ Hendelbergischen Catechismus/ wie auch/ erbaulicher Gebäter/ Nach einen Synodal Schluss zusammen/ getragen und eingerichtet/ vor die/ Evangelisch-Reformirten Gemeinen/ in den Vereinigten Staaten von America/ fünfte auflage/ Philadelphia/ Gedruckt bey G. und D. Billmeyer. 1814." 585 pp. + index + catechism DLC MWA

This is a hymnal, containing only one line melodies. The first edition appeared in Philadelphia: 1797. Ed. 2 in 1799. The fourth edition, Philadelphia: 1813, contained no music.

RILEY, E.

"SACRED MELODIES . . . [1817?]. From Pratt, "Tune-Books."

ROBBINS, CHARLES

"THE/ COLUMBIAN HARMONY; / OR/ MAINE COLLECTION OF CHURCH MUSIC, / In Three Divisions,/Containing, / I. The Rules of Vocal Music, Laid Down In A Very Plain Manner . . . II. A Large Variety Of Psalm And Hymn Tunes Of Various Metres, Suitable For Divine Worship, Arranged In Alphabetical Or-/der . . . III. Anthems, Dirges, Odes, And Chorusses, Suited To Many Occasions; Many Of Which Were/ Never Before Published. / The Whole Compiled For The Use Of Schools, Singing Societies, And Worshipping Assemblies. / By Charles Robbins. / Published Agreeably to Act of Congress. / Exeter, Newhampshire:/ Printed At The Music-Press of Henry Ranlet, For The Author. / 1805 . . . Price 10 dollars per dozen, 1 dollar single." 24o 207 pp. DLC

ROBERTS, ELI

"THE/ HARTFORD COLLECTION, / OF/ CLASSICAL CHURCH MUSIC. / Containing/ A Concise Introduction To The First Principles Of Music. / A Variety Of/ Psalm And Hymn Tunes, / Adapted To The Metres Used In Our Religious Assemblies: Together With A/ Number Of/ Anthems And Set Pieces, / Selected From The Most Celebrated/ European Authors. / By Eli Roberts. / To Which Is Added/ A Selection Of All The Terms Applicable To Church Music; From The Musical Dictionary Of Dr. Busby. / New London:—Printed Typographically, By Samuel Green, For The Compiler.—1812." 22.5 x 14.5 cm. 187 pp. CtHi MWA NNUT DLC

SACRED HARMONY

"SACRED HARMONY. / Being A Collection Of/ Many Excellent Psalm And Hymn Tunes. / To Which Is Prefixed, / A Full And Complete Gamut. / Collected from various Authors, with the addition of several New Pieces. / Philadelphia:/ Printed and sold by John M'Culloch, No. 1, North Third Street. —1806." 116 pp. PPL

Benjamin Carr may have been connected with this volume.

SACRED HARMONY

"SACRED HARMONY:/ Being A/ Selection of Tunes/ Of/ Approved Excellence, / Suited To The/ Various Subjects And Metres/ Of The/ Psalms And Hymns Of Dr. Watts, / And Also To The/ Supplement Attached To Them, By The Rev. Mr. Winchell. / Boston:/ Printed And Sold By James Loring, / No. 2, Cornhill, / 1819." standard shape 112 pp. MBC MWA

Pratt attributes the volume to Rev. Winchell. However, the t. p. gives authorship to Winchell only for the Supplement.

SALEM COLLECTION

A. "THE/ SALEM COLLECTION/ OF/ CLASSICAL SACRED MUSICK;/ In Three And Four Parts:/ Consisting Of/ Psalm Tunes And Occasional Pieces, / Selected From The Works Of/ The Most Eminent Composers:/ Suited To All The Metres In General Use. / To Which Is Prefixed, / A Short Introduction To Psalmody. / Salem:/ Printed By Joshua Cushing, And Sold By Cushing & Appleton, At Their Bookstore In Salem, & By J. Sparhawk Appleton/ No. 1, Cornhill, Boston. / 1805." 11 x 27.5 cm. 122 pp. MWA MSaE

B. "Second Edition, Improved & Revised. / Boston:/ Printed by Manning & Loring, for Cushing & Appleton. / Sold at said Cushing & Appleton's Bookstore in Salem; By Thomas & Whipple, Newburyport;/ and by all the principal Booksellers in the United States. / 1806." 11 x 27 cm. 136 pp. NNUT DLC MWA

SANGER, ZEDEKIAH (1771-1821)

"THE/ MERIDIAN HARMONY. / By Zedekiah Sanger, And Others. / Dedham:/ Printed For The Author . . . By H. Mann . . . 1808." 13.5 x 22 cm. 110 pp. DLC MWA MH

A N. d. copy at DLC is probably the same issue. "Original music was contributed to it by Walter Janes, Stephen Jenks, Lewis Edson, and Abraham Wood" Metcalf, 150.

SCHAFFER, FRANCIS C.

"HYMNS, / Suitable For/ The Devotion Of Families And Churches:/ Selected From Various Authors. / Set To Musick, / By Francis C. Schaffer, M. P. / Boston. / Printed And Sold By J. T. Buckingham. / 1811." 20 x 23 cm. 68 pp. MH MWA RPB

SCHETKY, GEORGE [See Benjamin Carr].

SEYMOUR, LEWIS & THADDEUS

1. "THE/ MUSICAL INSTRUCTOR:/ Or, / An Easy Introduction To Psalmody. /Containing/ I. The Necessary Rudiments of Music, in a series of Lessons, by way of Question and Answer. / II. A Collection of approved Psalm Tunes, for the use of Public and Social Worship. / By Lewis And Thaddeus Seymour. / New York:/ Printed by John C. Totten, No. 155, Chatham-street. / 1803. (Copy Right Secured.)" 32o 54 pp. NjR

2. A. "THE/ NEW-YORK SELECTION/ OF/ SACRED MUSIC:/ Containing/ A Concise Introduction To Psalmody, / For The Use Of Schools;/ And A Variety Of Tunes Suited To Public Worship. / By Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour. / New-York:/ Printed And Sold By The Compilers, No. 35 Mott-St. And By J. C. Totten, No. 155 Chatham-St. / 1809." 62 pp. MWA

Pratt indicates that Lewis Edson assisted in compiling this volume.

B. Metcalf, American Psalmody, p. 45, cites ed. for 1812.

C. "The Second Edition, Enlarged And Improved . . . New York:

Printed And Sold By The Compilers, 35 Mott-Street, And By J. C. Totten, 9 Bowery. 1816." 14.5 x 22 cm. 104 pp.
MWA NNC

SHAW, OLIVER (1776-1849)

1. "THE/ COLUMBIAN SACRED HARMONY/ Or, Collection of/ Grammatical Music. / By O. Shaw, A. Albee, and H. Mann. / Dedham:/ Printed, Typographically, At The Music Press Of H. Mann: And for sale at his Bookstore, At The Bookstores in Boston; By O. Shaw, Providence; and A. Albee, Medfield. / October—1808." 13 x 22 cm. 126 pp. NNUT DLC CtY RPB

2. A. "THE/ PROVIDENCE SELECTION/ OF/ PSALM AND HYMN TUNES. / In Two Parts. / Part First, / Containing The Rudiments of Musick, And A Selection Of/ Tunes Suitable For all The Various Measures In Use/ In Worshipping Assemblies. / **Part** Second, / Consisting Of Select Pieces, Of Various Measures, For Occa-/ sional Use. / Chiefly Selected/ From The Most Eminent European Authors, / And designed for the use of/ Schools And Churches. / By Oliver Shaw. / Dedham:/ Printed By H. Mann And Co. For The Author. / 1815." 23 cm octavo 127 pp. DLC MB MH MWA

3. "MELODIA SACRA:/ OR/ PROVIDENCE SELECTION OF SACRED MUSICK. / From The Latest European Publications;/ With a number of Original Compositions. / Designed for the use of Schools, Societies, and Worshiping Assemblies. / By Oliver Shaw. / Providence:/ Printed And Published By Miller And Hutchens. / October, 1819." 14.5 x 23.5 cm. 150 pp. MWA DLC

   Content quite altered from A. Really a separate publication. Metcalf cites a variant edition.

4. "SACRED MELODIES, Selected From Handel . . . Original Compositions . . . With an Accompaniment for the Pianoforte or Organ. Providence, Printed by Miller and Hutchens, 1818." 28 cm. 84 pp. MWA RPB

SHUMWAY, NEHEMIAH (1761-1843)

"THE/ AMERICAN HARMONY:/ Containing, In A Concise Manner, / The Rules Of Singing;/ Together With/ A Collection Of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, & Anthems. / From The Most Approved Authors, Ancient And Modern. / By Nehemiah Shumway, A. B. / Second Edition. / Philadelphia, / Printed And Sold By John M'Culloch, No. 1, North Third Street. --1801." 14 x 22.5 cm. 220 pp. NNUT DLC

First edition 1793.

SMITH, WILLIAM

A. "THE/ EASY INSTRUCTOR/ OR/ A New method of teaching Sacred Harmony/ PART II. / Containing the Rudiments of Music on an improved plan. -- With a choice collection of/ Psalm Tunes, a number of which are entirely new. / By William Smith." [Hopewell, (New Jersey;) near Trenton, 1806]. 13.5 x 22.5 cm. engraved. 72 pp. MWA

B. [Same] . . . [c. 1803]. 13 x 22 cm. 64 pp. DLC

no t. p. at DLC

These are the editions which Smith published without the authorization of William Little. See William Little.

SMITH, WILLIAM (1754-1821) [Not same as above William Smith]

1. "AN ASSISTANT TO THE EVANGELICAL PSALMODIST, in Setting Forth The Most Worthy Praise Of Almighty God . . . By the Rev. William Smith . . . New Haven: Printed at the Office of the Connecticut Herald, 1816." 21.5 cm 52 pp. CtY DLC

2. "CHANTS FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP . . . 1814." in Pratt: "Tune-Books."

3. "THE/ CHURCHMAN'S/ CHORAL COMPANION/ To His/ Prayer Book/ Consisting of/ Chants, Responses, and Anthems/ with / Scripture Hymns Set to Appropriate Melodies;/ Composed, Selected and Adapted to the Usage of the/ Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America/ In two, three, and four parts, with thorough Bass, for the Organ or Piano Forte. / By the Rev. William Smith, D. C. / New York: Printed for the Author/ 1809." 40 pp. DLC

SOUTHGATE, CHARLES

"HARMONIA SACRA. / A Collection Of/ Original & Choice/ Psalms and Hymn/ Tunes, / Odes, Anthems, Gloria Patris, / And a Te Deum. / Composed and Harmonized/ By the Late Charles Southgate, of Richmond, Virga. / New York;/ Engraved, / Printed and Published/ for the Widow, by Edward Riley, / 29 Chatham Street." [1818]. Pratt notes an 1800 issue of same. CSmH

STAMMERS, EDWARD

"PHILADELPHIA CHORISTER:/ Or, AN/ Excellent Collection/ Of/ Anthems, Odes, And Tunes;/ A Great Number Of Which Were Never Before Published. / By the late Edward Stammers. / Philadelphia:/ Printed and sold by John M'Culloch, No. 1, North Third-Street./ November, 1803." 47 pp. PMA

SUFFOLK SELECTION

"THE/ SUFFOLK SELECTION/ OF/ CHURCH MUSICK. / To Which Are Prefixed, / Rudiments For Learners. / Compiled Under The Inspection Of Several Gentlemen In Boston And The Vicinity. / Boston . . . Published By Thomas & Andrews, And Sold At Their Bookstore, '/ No. 45 Newbury-Street . . . 1807. / J. T. Buckingham . . . Printer." 13.5 x 23 cm 158 pp. DLC MWA MBC

McCormick ("Oliver Holden") p. 221, speculates that the "several gentlemen" included Holden, and that many of the tunes in Section III were his tunes.

SWAN, TIMOTHY (1757-1842)

"NEW ENGLAND HARMONY/ Containing, / A Variety of Psalm Tunes, In Three And Four Parts, Adapted To All/ Metres: Also, A Number Of Set Pieces, Of Several Verses Each, / Together With A Number Of Anthems. / By Timothy Swan/ Published According to Act of Congress/ Printed at Northampton, Massachusetts, / By Andrew Wright:/ and sold at his Office:—sold also at Suffield, in Connecticut, by the Author. / 1801." 13.5 x 23.5 cm. 103 pp.
NNUT DLC MWA RPB MH NN CtHi CSmH

TENNEY, SAMUEL (1787-1830)

A. [Tenney] "THE/HALLOWELL COLLECTION/ OF/ SACRED MUSIC;/ Adapted To The/ Different Subjects And Metres,/ Commonly Used In Churches./ Hallowell:/ Printed And Published By E. Goodale./ 1817." 13 x 22.5 cm. 197 pp.
DLC MWA NN MH CtY MB

Attributed to Tenney by Joseph Williamson in his "A Bibliography of the State of Maine . . ." Portland, 1896, v. 2, p. 508.

B. [Tenney] Same except "Second edition, Enlarged & Improved, . . . 1819." 13.5 x 22.5 cm 215 pp. MHi MWA RPB ICN

TERRIL, ISRAEL

1. "THE MUSICAL MELODIES, OR THE ART OF PSALMODY . . . Engraved and Printed by the Author. New Haven, West Society, 1803." 48 pp. Ct OCHP

2. "VOCAL HARMONY./ No. 1/ Calculated for the use of Singing Schools/ and Worshiping Assemblies./ By Israel Terril/ Newhaven, West Society, Engrav'd Printed and Sold by the/ Author." [c. 1805]. 12.5 x 20 cm. 64 pp. NNUT DLC

THOMSON, SAMUEL

"THE/ COLUMBIAN HARMONY;/ Containing/ 1st. A Plain Introduction To The Rules Of Music./ 2d. A Number Of Psalm And Hymn Tunes, Never Before Published./ Calculated For The Use Of Singing Schools And Religious Societies./ By Samuel Thomson,/ Dedham:/ Printed At The Music-Press of H. Mann, For The Author. —1810." 40 pp. ICN

TOMLINS, JAMES

"SACRED MUSICK, Selected Principally From Rippon's Collections and From Various Other Authors Of Merit, with a Brief Introduction to Psalmody./ By James Tomlins of Virginia. Boston, 1810. Printed by J. T. Buckingham." 60 pp. NN

VALUABLE COLLECTION

"A VALUABLE COLLECTION OF/ SACRED MUSICK, / Adapted to the Various Metres in Watts. / Exeter, Printed by J. J. Williams, / 1818." 6.5 x 11.5 cm. 250 pp. DLC MWA

This unique tune-book is bound side by side with Isaac Watts' The Psalms of David (Exeter: J. J. Williams, 1818) in such a manner as to permit use of each of the tunes with any of the hymn texts.

VILLAGE HARMONY

This extensive and popular series was first issued in 1795 by Henry Ranlet. Ranlet may have been the editor, at least through the first seven editions. Metcalf states that the Essex Institute, Salem, has a copy with pencil notation attributing the book to Jacob Kimball, Jr., but questions that conclusion. An advertisement for the first edition in "American Herald of Liberty," Exeter, N.H. of July 30, 1795 and dated July 22, 1795, states "the above collection is made by several gentlemen who are teachers of music." Until further studies are completed, the "gentlemen" in that group will remain only speculative. The 2nd edition was issued in 1796, the 3rd in 1797, the 4th in 1798, the 5th in 1800.

F. "THE/ VILLAGE HARMONY:/ OR, / YOUTH'S ASSISTANT TO SACRED MUSIC. / Containing, / A concise Introduction to the Grounds of Music, with such a collection of the most approved Psalm/ Tunes, Anthems, and other Pieces, as are most suitable for Divine Worship. / Designed Principally For the Use Of Schools And Singing Societies. / Sixth Edition, Corrected And Improved. / Published According To Act Of Congress. / Printed By Henry Ranlet, Exeter, Newhampshire, / And Sold at his Book Store, by the hundred, dozen, or single; Sold also by Thomas & Andrews, Boston; Edmund M. Blunt, / Angier March, Thomas & Whipple, Newburyport; Galen H. Fay, Haverhill; William A. Kent, Concord;/ Charles Pierce, Wm. Treadwell & Co. Portsmouth; Thomas Clark, and Isaac Adams, Portland. / Price 10 dollars per dozen, and 1 dollar single. 1803." 13 x 22. 5 cm. 205 pp. DLC MWA RPB MHi

G. "Seventh Edition, Improved Corrected And Enlarged. Exeter: Ranletds Ranlet & Norris, 1806." 24o 223 pp. DLC RPB

H. "Eighth Edition, Improved, Corrected, And Enlarged . . . Exeter, N.H. . . . Printed By Norris & Sawyer, / And Sold at their Book-Store, . . . Sold also by Thomas & Andrews, David West, John West, E. & J. Larkin, Manning & Loring, Andrews & Cummings, Caleb Bingham, Joseph Greenleaf, Edward Cotton, Boston . . . William Hilliard, Cambridge . . . Cushing & Appleton, Salem. . . . William Sawyer & Co. Thomas & Whipple, Newburyport. . . . John Prentiss, Keene. . . . Charles Pierce, Thomas & Tappan, Portsmouth. . . . Isaac Adams, John Johnson, Portland. . . . Ezekiel Goodale, Hallowell. . . . Isaac Bean, Gilmanton. . . . 1807." 13 x 23 cm. 230 pp. DLC MWA

I. "Ninth Edition . . . Exeter, (N.H.) . . . Printed By Norris & Sawyer . . . [add] John Johnson, Portland . . . 1808." 13 x 22.5 cm. 236 pp. MWA

J. "Tenth Edition . . . Exeter, (N.H.) . . . Printed By C. Norris & Co. . . . And Sold at their Book-Store . . . Sold also by E. Little & Co., Thomas & Whipple, Newburyport. . . . Thomas & Andrews, West & Blake, John West, E. Larkin, J. Larkin, Caleb Bingham, Joseph Greenleaf, Boston. . . . William Hilliard, Cambridge. . . . Cushing & Appleton, Salem. . . . John Prentiss, Keene. . . . Charles Pierce, Charles Tappan, Portsmouth. . . . Isaac Adams, Portland. . . . Ezekiel Goodale, Hallowell. . . . Samuel Bragg, Dover. . . . Isaac Bean, Gilmanton." [1810]. 283 pp. MWA

Ka. "THE/ VILLAGE HARMONY:/ OR, / YOUTH'S ASSISTANT TO SACRED MUSICK. / Consisting Of/ Psalm Tunes and Occasional Pieces, / Selected From The Works Of The/ Most Eminent Composers. / To Which Is Prefixed/ A Concise Introduction To Psalmody. / Eleventh Edition, Corrected And Enlarged. / Newburyport:/ Published By E. Little & Co. and sold at their Bookstore; sold also by C. Norris & Co. Exeter; Ephraim Kingsbury, Haverhill, N.H. / Charles Williams, Boston; and by all the principal Booksellers in the United States. / C. Norris & Co. Printers." [1813]. 13.5 x 22.5 cm. 315 pp. MWA

Kb. [Same as Ka except content changed and paged differently.] 316 pp. MWA

L. "Twelfth Edition, Corrected And Enlarged. / Newburyport:/ Published By E. Little & Co. and sold at their respective Bookstores in Newburyport & Portland: sold also by C. Norris & Co. Exeter;

Ephraim Kingsbury, / Haverhill, N.H.; Cummings & Hilliard, Boston; and by all the principal Booksellers in the United States. / C. Norris & Co. printers." [1815] 13 x 23.5 cm. 331 pp. MWA DLC

M. "Thirteenth Edition, Corrected And Enlarged." [1816]. 331 pp. MWA Nh-Hi RPB

N. "THE/ VILLAGE HARMONY:/ OR, / NEW-ENGLAND REPOSITORY OF SACRED MUSICK. / Collected From The/ Works of the most Celebrated Masters. / Fourteenth Edition, Greatly Improved. / Boston:/ Published By West & Richardson, And For Sale, Wholesale And Retail, At Their Bookstore, No. 75, Cornhill; Sold Also By The Principal/ Booksellers In The United States. / C. Norris, Printer, Exeter." [1817]. 13.5 x 23.5 cm. 347 pp. MWA

O. "Fifteenth Edition, Correct And Improved. / Exeter:/ Printed And Published By J. J. Williams, And Sold At The Exeter Bookstore, Wholesale And Retail. —Sold Also By John Holbrook, Brattle/ borough, Vt. —Isaac Hill, Concord. — West & Richardson And Cummings & Hilliard, Boston. —Wm. Hyde, Portland. — Parker Sheldon, / Gardiner, Me. — Geo. A. Trumbull, Worcester, —James F. Shores, Portsmouth. —Cook & Hale, Hartford. — And By All The/ Principal Booksellers In The United States. / 1818." 14 x 23 cm. 344 pp. MWA RPB

P. "Sixteenth Edition, Revised And Improved./ Exeter:/ Printed For The Proprietor, By J. J. Williams, And Sold At the Exeter Bookstore, Wholesale And Retail. —Sold Also By John Holbrook, / Brattleborough, Vt. —West, Richardson & Lord, And R.P. & C. Williams, Boston. — Wm. Hyde, Portland— Wm. F. Laine, / Hallowell. — E. & E. Hosford, Albany. — Collins & Co. New-York, —And By All/ The Principal Booksellers In The United States. / 1819." 24o 347 pp. MWA RPB DLC

Q. "SEVENTEENTH EDITION, Revised/ Exeter:/ Printed For The Proprietor . . . Sold Also By Wilby & Halstead, / City of New-York. —Richardson & Lord,& Boston. — Wm. Hyde, Portland. — Wm. F. Laine, Hallowell. —E. & G. Hosford, Albany. / And By All The Principal Booksellers In The United States. / 1820." 24o 347 pp. DLC MWA

[17th edition: Exeter, 1821.]

WAINWRIGHT, JONATHAN MAYHEW (1792-1854)

"A SET OF CHANTS Adapted To The Hymns In The Morning And Evening Prayer . . . Protestant Episcopal Church In the U. S. A. Boston. Thomas Badget, Junr. 1819." 49 pp. DLC MWA

Preface states "the compiler . . . has been able to avail himself of the important assistance of Dr. G. K. Jackson. . . ."

WARRINER, SOLOMON (1778-1860)

1. "THE/ SPRINGFIELD COLLECTION/ OF/ SACRED MUSIC. / Containing / A Variety Of Psalm Tunes And Occasional Pieces. / Selected From The Works Of The/ Most Approved European Authors. / To Which Is Prefixed/ A Concise System of Rudiments. / By Solomon Warriner. / Published by Warriner And Bontecou, and sold by them at their Store in Springfield. Sold also by Manning And Loring, and Charles/ Williams, Boston—by Warriner and Callender Pittsfield—and by the principal Booksellers in the United States. / Manning And Loring, Printers, Boston. . . . Nov. 1813." 24o 159 pp. DLC MWA Ct-HC

2. "MUSICA SACRA." [See Thomas Hastings.]

WASHBURN, JAPHETH (1780-1850)

1. "THE/ PARISH HARMONY, / OR/ FAIRFAX COLLECTION OF SACRED MUSICK:/ Containing/ A Concise Introduction to the Grounds of Musick, / And A Variety Of/ Psalm Tunes Suitable To Be Used In Divine Service;/ Together With An Anthem. / By Japheth Coombs Washburn. / Exeter:/ Printed by C. Norris & Co. For The Author." [Copr. 1813] 10 x 26 cm. 113 pp. RPB

2. "THE TEMPLE HARMONY; Being A Collection Of Sacred Music: Containing A Variety Of Psalm Tunes, Anthems And Select Pieces. . . . Goodale & Washburn. From The Music Press of E. Goodale. 1818." [Hallowell, Me.] 310 pp. MeHi

   Six editions of The Temple Harmony were issued to 1826.

WEST, ELISHA

A. "THE/ MUSICAL CONCERT:/ Containing, / A Concise Introduction, With A Suitable Proportion Of Tunes And Anthems, Calculated For The Use Of Schools And Religious Worship, / Never Before Published. / By Elisha West, Philo. Mus. / Copy Right Secured Agreeably to Act of Congress. / Printed (Typographically) At Northampton, / By Andrew Wright, / For Elisha West and John Billings, Jun/ January— 1802." 13.5 x 23 cm. 203 pp. DLC MB MWA

B. "The Second Edition . . . Printed . . . By Andrew Wright. — For the Compiler. / 1807." 18 x 22.5 cm. 104 pp. NNUT MWA

WILLARD, SAMUEL (1776-1859)

A. "DEERFIELD COLLECTION/ OF SACRED MUSIC, / Compiled From The Most Approved Authors, Ancient And Modern, With A View To That Simplicity, Which Is In-/ dispensable, And That Variety, Which Is Important In The Services Of The Church, Classed According/ To Their Affinities Of Expression:/ Together With/ A Musical Grammar, / Containing the necessary definitions, and a variety of remarks and directions, relative to pronunciation, adaptation and expression:/ By Samuel Willard, / Minister Of Deerfield. / Greenfield, Mass. Published At R. Dickinson's Office, For Simeon Butler, Northampton. / H. Graves, Printer. . . . 1814." 10 x 20 cm. 144 pp. NNUT DLC MWA

B. [Same] . . . "To All Which Is Added [An Appendix,] Containing A Few Set Pieces, And A Number Of Occasional And Other Hymns, More Studiously Adjusted Than/ Usual, To The Measure Of The Music:/ . . . The Second Edition. / Greenfield, Massachusetts, Printed And Published By Denio And Phelps. / 1818." 10 x 20.5 cm. 179 pp. NNUT MWA DLC RPB

WINCHELL, REV. [See Sacred Harmony].

WOOD, WILLIAM

"HARMONIA EVANGELICA, / A Collection of Sacred Music, / From The Most Approved Authors, In Three Numbers. / No. 1. / Containing A Variety Of Tunes For Public Worship;/ To Which Is Prefixed A Concise Introduction/ To Psalmody. / Compiled by William Wood. / Exeter, N.H. / Printed by C. Norris & Co. Sold by Thomas & Whipple, State-Street, Newburyport, and Henry Whipple, Salem, Mass." [1810]. 13.5 x 21.5 cm. 109 pp. DLC MWA

WOODWARD, CHARLES

1. A. "ECCLESIAE HARMONIA. / A/ SELECTION OF/ SACRED MUSIC:/ by/ Charles Woodward. / Philadelphia Published Feb. 1807." [This may be the c. 1806 edition noted by Metcalf.] 100 pp. CtHC MWA

   B. "ECCLESIAE HARMONIA. / A/ SELECTION OF/ SACRED MUSIC;/ by Charles Woodward. / The second Edition improved & enlarged by the addition of upwards of 40 tunes including Anthems & pieces. / Philada. Sold by W. W. Woodward corner of Chestnut & Second streets and by the Editor No. 162 North 5th Street." [1809]. 24o 108pp.
   DLC MB MHi MWA NjR PHi

2. "SACRED MUSIC, IN MINIATURE:/ Containing/ A Choice Selection/ Of Nearly/ One Hundred And Fifty Psalm And Hymn / Tunes, / Set In Three Parts, --Chiefly New:/ Adapted to Public and Family Worship, and including a great variety of Me-/tres, from Dr. Watts's, Rippon's, the Methodist, and other Hymn Books: a great/ proportion of which are the production of a celebrated composer in England, / where they are highly esteemed together with others composed expressly for the/ work. / By Charles Woodward, / Author Of Ecclesia Harmonia. / Philadelphia, sold by W. W. Woodward, corner of Chesnut and Second Streets. —M. Carey, / No. 122 High Street, and C. Woodward, No. 162 North Fifth Street. Price 75 cents in boards, / —with blank Music lines. 87 cents—with ditto full bound, 1 dollar. / 1812." 7.5 x 11.5 cm. 208 pp. DLC MWA PPPrHi Ct-HC

WORCESTER, SAMUEL (1770-1821)

A. [Worcester]. "SELECT HARMONY:/ The/ Fourth Part/ Of/ Christian Psalmody, / Consisting Of A Variety Of Tunes/ Of/ Approved Excellence, / Suited To The/ Various Subjects And Metres/ Of The/ Psalms And Hymns, / Contained In The/ First Three Parts. / Boston: Published By Samuel T. Armstrong, / No. 50, Cornhill. / 1813. / C. Norris & Co. Printers." 22 cm. octavo 47 pp. MWA MB DLC

B. [Worcester]. "SELECT HARMONY . . . [Second Edition] . . . Boston, 1817." 75 pp. MBC MB MH-AH

Both of the above are Part Four of Worcester's Christian Psalmody, an important edition of Dr. Watts' psalms.

WYETH, JOHN (1770-1858)

1. A. "WYETH'S/ REPOSITORY OF SACRED MUSIC. / Selected From The Most Eminent And Approved Authors In That Science, / For The Use Of/ Christian Churches Of Every Denomination, Singing-Schools & Private Societies. / Together With A Plain And Concise/ Introduction To The Grounds Of Music, / And Rules For Learners. / By John Wyeth. / Printed (typographically) At Harrisburgh, Penn. By John Wyeth, Printer And Bookseller, / and sold by him, and by the principal Booksellers in the United States. / 1810." 14.5 x 24.5 cm. 120 pp. P MWA

B. "Second Edition. / Printed (typographically) At Harrisburgh, Penn. By John Wyeth, Printer and Bookseller, and sold/ by him, and by Mathew Carey, Bookseller, Market Street, Philadelphia, either of whom will give the/ most liberal allowance to wholesale purchasers. / 1811." 120 pp. P PSt MWA

C. [1812?] issue listed by ICN and NL. 132 pp.

D. "Third Edition. / Printed (typographically) at Harrisburgh, Penn. by John Wyeth, and sold by him, / and by John Bioren, Printer and Book-/seller, No. 88, Chesnut street, Philadelphia, either of whom will give a liberal allowance to wholesale purchasers. / 14 x 24 cm. 132 pp. MWA

E. "Fourth Edition. / Printed (typographically) at Harrisburgh, Penn. by John Wyeth, and sold by him, and by Wm. W. Woodward . . . Phila. . . . 1816." 14 x 24 cm 132 pp. MWA

F. "Fifth Edition. / Printed (typographically) at Harrisburgh, Penn. by John Wyeth, and sold by him, and by Matthew Carey & Son, Booksellers/ in Philadelphia, either of whom will give a liberal allowance to wholesale purchasers. / 1818." 14 x 23.5 cm. 130 p. PHi ICN MWA PLF

G. "Fifth Edition. / Printed . . . and by most of the Booksellers in Philadelphia; Shaeffer & Maund, Baltimore, and Collins & Co. New-York. Either of whom/ will give a liberal allowance to wholesale purchasers./ 1820." PLF

2. A. "WYETH'S/ REPOSITORY OF SACRED MUSIC. / PART SECOND. / Original And Selected From The Most Eminent And Approved Authors In That Science, / For The Use Of/ Christian Churches, Singing-Schools & Private Societies. / Together With A Copious And Plain/ Introduction To The Grounds Of Music, / And Rules For Learners. / By John Wyeth. / Printed (typographically) at Harrisburgh, Penn. by John Wyeth, Printer and Bookseller, and sold by him, and by Mathew/ Carey, Market-street, Philadelphia, either of whom will give liberal allowance to wholesale purchasers. / 1813." 14.5 x 24.5 cm. 132 pp. MWA PLF

B. "Second Edition . . . sold by him, and by most of the booksellers in Phila. Shaeffer and Maund, Baltimore, and Collins & Co. New York . . . 1820." 132 pp. MWA

Other editions to 1834.

YOUNG CONVERT

"THE/ YOUNG CONVERT'S COMPANION:/ Being/ A Collection Of/ Hymns/ For The Use Of Conference Meetings. / Original and Selected./ Published According to Act of Congress. / Boston:/ Printed By E. Lincoln, Water-Street. / 1806." 14.5 cm 144 pp. MB MWA

This is a small hymn collection which contains an appendix with eighteen brief tunes. A second edition printed in 1812 does not contain music.

APPENDIX B

Tune-Book Editions by Year of Publication

The bibliography of tune-book editions is listed chronologically by year of publication. A short title has been used to conserve space, but the full title can be located in Appendix A.

The date does not appear on the title page of a number of books; in such cases, where the date is known, the date appears enclosed in brackets in the full listing. In this appendix such books simply appear under the proper year. If the exact date of a tune book is in question it is included under a probable date of publication.

APPENDIX B

1801

Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," Ed. 7, Philadelphia.
Cole, John. "Collection of Anthems," N. p.
Edson, Lewis. "The Social Harmonist," Ed. 2, New York.
Hill, Uri K. "The Vermont Harmony, Vol. I" Northampton.
Holden, Oliver. "Union Harmony, Vol. I," Boston.
Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing [1800]," Philadelphia.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," Philadelphia.
Read, Daniel. "The Columbian Harmonist, No. 2," New Haven.
"The American Musical Magazine," Northampton.
Shumway, Nehemiah. "The American Harmony," Ed. 2, Philadelphia.
Swan, Timothy. "The New England Harmony," Northampton.

1802

Atwill, Thomas. "The New York Collection," Lansingburgh.
Belknap, Daniel. "The Middlesex Collection," Boston.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Columbian & European Harmony," Boston.
Cole, John. "[The Divine Harmonist]," Baltimore.
French, Jacob. "Harmony of Harmony," Northampton.
Holyoke, Samuel. "Columbian Repository," Exeter.
Kimball, Jacob, Jr. "The Essex Harmony, Part II," Salem.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," 2nd issue of Ed. 1 [New York].
Mann, Elias. "Northampton Collection," Northampton [2 issues for this year].
Maxim, Abraham. "The Oriental Harmony," Exeter.
Palfray, Warwick. "Evangelical Psalmodist," Salem.
West, Elisha. "The Musical Concert," Northampton.

1803

Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," Ed. 8, Philadelphia.
Babcock, Samuel. "Middlesex Harmony," Ed. 2, Boston.
Cheverus, Rev. John. "Roman Catholic Manual," Boston.
Cole, John. "Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems," Boston.
Cole, Samuel & John. "Sacred Music," Baltimore.
Cooper, William. "Original Sacred Music," Boston.
Edson, Lewis, Jr. "Social Harmonist," Ed. 3, New York.
Forbush, Abijah. "Psalmodist's Assistant," Boston.
[Funk, Christian]. "Die kleine geistliche Harfe," Ed. 1, Germantown.

Holden, Oliver. "Charlestown Collection," Boston.
Holden, Oliver. "Worcester Collection," Ed. 8, Boston.
Holt, Benjamin, Jr. "New England Sacred Harmony," Boston.
Janes, Walter. "Massachusetts Harmony," Boston.
Jenks, Stephen. "American Compiler, No. I," Northampton.
Jenks, Stephen. "Musical Harmonist," Ed. 2.
Newhall, James. "Vocal Harmony," Northampton.
Seymour, L. & T. "Musical Instructor," New York.
Smith, William. "Easy Instructor, Part II," Hopewell, N.J.
Stammers, Edward. "Philadelphia Chorister," Philadelphia.
Terril, Israel. "Musical Melodies," New Haven.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 6, Exeter.

1804

Atwill, Thomas. "New York and Vermont Collections," 2nd ed., Albany.
[Billings, William.] "Young Man's Instructive Companion," Northampton.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Columbian and European Harmony," Ed. 2, Boston.
Child, Ebenezer. "The Sacred Musician," Boston.
[Cole, John.] "The Beauties of Psalmody," Baltimore.
Cooper, William. "Beauties of Church Music," Boston.
"Cumberland Melodist," Shippensburg.
Holyoke, Samuel. "Christian Harmonist," Salem.
Howe, Solomon. "Farmer's Evening Entertainment," Northampton.
Howe, Solomon. "Worshipper's Assistant," Northampton.
Jackson, George. "David's Psalms," N.p.
Jenks, Stephen. "Delights of Harmony," New Haven.
Mennonite Church in U.S.A. "Ein neues,unpartheyisches Gesangbuch," Ed. 1, Lancaster.
Read, Daniel. "Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 2, Dedham.

1805

Albee, Amos. "Norfolk Collection," Dedham.
Atwill, Thomas. "New York & Vermont Collection," Ed. 2, Albany.
Billings, William. "Psalm-Singer's Amusement," N.d., n. p.
Blake, George E. "Vocal Harmony," Philadelphia.
Boston-First Church. "First Church Collection," Boston.
Capen, Samuel. "Norfolk Harmony, No. 1," Boston.
Carr, Benjamin. "Masses, vespers, litanies," Baltimore.

Carr, B. & Schetky. "Sacred Harmony," Baltimore.
Cole, John. "Beauties of Psalmody," Ed. 2, Baltimore.
"Gamut or Scale of Music," Hartford.
Ingalls, Jeremiah. "Christian Harmony," Exeter.
Janes, Walter. "Harmonic Minstrelsey," Dedham.
Jenks, Stephen. "Delights of Harmony, or Norfolk Compiler," Dedham.
/Ellis, Abner./ "Additional music to The Delights of Harmony," bound with Jenks copy, Dedham.
Jenks, Stephen. "Delights of Harmony," New Canaan.
Jenks, Stephen. "Delights of Harmony," New Haven.
Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing, Ed. 4, Cambridge.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Maxim, Abraham. "Northern Harmony," Exeter.
Frost, Rufus. "Medford Harmony," Boston.
Olmsted, Timothy. "Musical Olio," Northampton.
Robbins, Charles. "Columbian Harmony," Exeter.
"Salem Collection," Salem.
Terril, Israel. "Vocal Harmony, No. 1," New Haven.

1806

Atwill, Thomas. "New York & Vermont Collection," Ed. 2, Albany.
Belknap, Daniel. "Village Compilation," Boston.
Belknap, Daniel. "Village Compilation," Ed. 2, Boston. (2nd issue).
Boston-First Church. "First Church Collection," Ed. 2, Boston.
Doolittle, Eliakim. "Psalm Singers Companion," New Haven.
Erban, Peter. "Select Psalm and Hymn Tunes," New York.
Forbush, Abijah. "Psalmodist's Assistant," Ed. 2, Boston.
Hill, Uri K. "Sacred Minstrel, No. 1," Boston.
Jenks, Stephen. "Delights of Harmony, or Union Compiler, No. II," Dedham.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Read, Daniel. "Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 3, Dedham.
"Sacred Harmony," Philadelphia.
"Salem Collection," Ed. 2, Boston.
Smith, William. "Easy Instructor, Part II," Hopewell.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 7, Exeter.
"Young Convert's Companion," Boston.
Ward, William. "Gamut," Utica.

1807

Addington, Stephen. "Sacred Music," Philadelphia.
Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," Ed. 9, Philadelphia.
[Blanchard, Amos.] "Newburyport Collection," Exeter.
Bushnell, John. "Musical Synopsis," Northampton.
Cheverus, Rev. John. "Anthems, Hymns," Ed. 2, Baltimore.
Evans, James. "David's Companion," New York.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Hartford.
Griswold, Elijah. "Hartford Collection," Hartford.
Holyoke, Samuel. "Vocal Companion," Exeter.
Huntington, Jonathan. "Apollo Harmony," Northampton.
Janes, Walter. "Harmonic Minstrelsey," Dedham.
Law, Andrew. "Choice Collection of Church Music," Philadelphia.
Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," Philadelphia.
Law, Andrew. "Select Harmony," Philadelphia.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany. Also variant edition.
Mann, Elias. "Massachusetts Collection," Boston.
Middlesex Musical Society. "Middlesex Collection," Boston.
Read, Daniel. "Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 3, Boston.
Reformed Church U.S. "Das neue und verbesserte Gesangbuch," Ed. 3.
"Suffolk Selection of Church Musick," Boston.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 8, Exeter.
West, Elisha. "Musical Concert," Ed. 2, Northampton.
Woodward, Charles. "Ecclesiae Harmonia," Philadelphia.

1808

Addington, Stephen. "Valuable Selection," Philadelphia.
Belknap, Daniel. "Middlesex Collection," Ed. 2.
Blanchard, Amos. "American Musical Primer," Exeter.
Boston-Trinity Church. "Hymns, selected," Boston.
"Boston Collection of sacred & devotional hymns," Boston.
Chapin, Nathan. "Musical Instructor," Philadelphia.
Cole, John. "Divine Harmonist," Baltimore.
"Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music," Northampton.
Evans, James. "David's Companion," New York.
Fobes, Azariah. "Delaware Harmony," [Wilmington].
Hardy, Daniel. "A Thanksgiving Anthem," Boston.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Maxim, Abraham. "Northern Harmony," Ed. 2, Exeter.
Mennonite Church U.S. "Ein neues, unpartheyisches Gesangbuch,"
Ed. 2, Lancaster.

Middlesex Musical Society. "Middlesex Collection," Ed. 2, Boston.
"Modern Harmony," Concord.
Peck, Daniel. "Musical Medley," Dedham.
Read, Joel. "New England Selection," Boston.
Sanger, Zedekiah. "Meridian Harmony," Dedham.
Shaw, Oliver. "Columbian Sacred Harmonist," Dedham.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 9, Exeter.

1809

Cole, John. "Episcopalian Harmony," Baltimore.
Fobes, Azariah. "Delaware Harmony," Philadelphia.
Gillet, Wheeler. "Maryland Selection," Baltimore.
Harmon, Joel. "Columbian Sacred Minstrel," Northampton.
Huntington, Jonathan. "The English Extracts, or Hampshire Musical Magazine," Northampton.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
[Madan, Rev. Martin.] "Collection of Psalms and Hymn Tunes," Boston.
Moors, Hezekiah. "Province Harmony," Boston.
Seymour, Lewis. "New York Selection," New York.
Smith, William. "Churchman's Choral Companion," New York.
Woodward, Charles. "Ecclesiae Harmonia," Ed. 2, Philadelphia.

1810

Blake, George E. "Vocal Harmony," Philadelphia.
Boston-Brattle Street Church. "LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes," Boston.
Boston-West Church. "Collection of Sacred Musick," Boston.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Bridgewater Collection," Ed. 3, Boston.
Chapin, Nathan. "Musical Instructor," Philadelphia.
Cole, John. "Ecclesiastical Harmony," Baltimore.
Cole, John. "Rudiments of Music," Baltimore.
Cooper, William. "Sacred Music," Boston.
Doll, Joseph. "Der leichte Unterricht," Harrisburg.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Otsego.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Troy.
Jenks, Stephen. "Royal Harmony of Zion," Dedham.
Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing," Ed. 5, Philadelphia.
Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," Philadelphia.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany. Also variant edition.

Millard, Clement. "United States Harmony," N.p.
Peck, Daniel L. "Valuable Selection of Sacred Music," Philadelphia.
Read, Daniel. "Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 4, Boston.
Thomson, Samuel. "Columbian Harmony," Dedham.
Tomlins, James. "Sacred Musick," Boston.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 10, Exeter.
Wood, William. "Harmonia Evangelica," Exeter.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Harrisburgh.

1811

Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," [Husband ed.].
Boston-Hollis Street Church. "Psalms and Hymn Tunes," Boston.
Carr, Benjamin. "Lessons in Vocal Music," Baltimore.
Cole, John. "Episcopalian Harmony," Baltimore.
Evans, James. "David's Companion," New York.
[Funk, Christian] "Die kleine geistliche Harfe," Ed. 2, Germantown.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Hartford.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Canandaigua.
Jenks, Stephen. "Christian Harmony," Dedham.
Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing, Part III," [Philadelphia].
Law, Andrew. "Select Harmony," Philadelphia.
Law, Andrew, "Supplement to the Musical Primer," Philadelphia.
Leslie, Benjamin. "Concert Harmony," Salem.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Middlesex Musical Society. "Middlesex Collection," Ed. 3, Boston.
"Musical Catechism," Ed. 3, Philadelphia.
Olmstead, T. "Musical Olio," Ed. 2, New London.
Schaffer, Francis C. "Hymns," Boston.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 2, Harrisburg.

1812

"Columbian Harp," Northampton.
"Evangelical Songster," Newburyport.
Hewitt, James. "Harmonia Sacra," Boston.
Huntington, Jonathan. "Classical Sacred Musick," Boston.
Kent, Emanuel. "David's Harp," Baltimore.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Protestant Episcopal Church. "Selection of Psalm Tunes," New York.
Read, Joel. "New England Selection," Ed. 2, Boston.

Roberts, Eli. "Hartford Collection," New London.
Seymour, Lewis. "New York Selection," New York.
Woodward, Charles. "Sacred Music in Miniature," Philadelphia.
[Wyeth, John.] "Repository of Sacred Music," Harrisburg.

1813

Deutsche-Evangelische Church. "Choral-Buch für die erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung," Philadelphia.
[Graupner, Gottlieb.] "Monitor, or Celestial Melody," Boston.
[Kent, Emanuel.] "David's Harp," Baltimore.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany, second issue.
Pool, David. "American and European Harmony," Providence.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 11, Newburyport.
Warriner, Solomon. "Springfield Collection," Springfield.
Washburn, Japheth. "Parish Harmony," Exeter.
[Worcester, Samuel.] "Select Harmony," Boston.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second," Harrisburg.

1814

Aitken, John. "Compilation of the Litanies," Philadelphia.
Cole, John. "Devotional Harmony," Baltimore.
Doll, Joseph. "Leichter Unterricht," Ed. 2, Harrisburg.
Fobes, Azariah. "Delaware Harmony," Ed. 2, Wilmington.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Hartford.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Cooperstown.
Harmon, Joel. "Musical Primer," Harrisburg.
Hill, Uri K. "The Handelian Repository," New York.
Hubbard, John. "Volume of Sacred Musick," Newburyport.
Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," Ed. 3, Philadelphia.
Lewis, Freeman. "Beauties of Harmony," Pittsburgh.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany. Also variant edition.
"Old Colony Collection of Anthems," Boston.
Philadelphia-Catholic Church. "Collection of litanies," new edition, Philadelphia.
Portsmouth-South Parish." Collection of Sacred Musick," Exeter.
Protestant Episcopal Church. "Chants, Occasional pieces, and Plain Tunes," Salem.

Reformed Church U.S. "Das neue und verbesserte Gesangbuch," Ed. 5, Philadelphia (Germantown).
Smith, William. "Chants for Public Worship."
Willard, Samuel. "Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music," Greenfield.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 3, Harrisburg.

1815

Boston-First Church. "Sacred Musick," Boston. Also another edition.
Cole, Isaac P. "Third Presbyterian Church Collection," Philadelphia.
Doll, Joseph. "Leichter Unterricht," Vol. II. Harrisburg.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Utica.
Hartwell, Edward. "Chorister's Companion," Exeter.
[Hastings, Thomas.] "Musica Sacra," Utica.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany. Also second issue.
Patterson, Robert. "Patterson's Church Music," Ed. 2, Cincinnati.
Shaw, Oliver. "Providence Selection," Dedham.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 12, Newburyport.

1816

Armstrong, John. "Pittsburgh Selection," Pittsburgh.
[Brown, Bartholemew.] "Templi Carmina," Ed. 4, Boston.
Butts, Thomas. "Harmonia Sacra," Andover.
Carr, Benjamin. "Collection of chants & tunes," Philadelphia.
"David's Harp," New London.
Eckhard, Jacob, Jr. "Choral-Book," Boston.
Davisson, Ananias. "Kentucky Harmony," Harrisonburg.
Funk, Joseph. "Die Allgemein nützliche choral-music," Harrisonburg.
[Flint, Timothy.] "Columbian Harmonist," Cincinnati.
"Gamut, or Scale of Music," Hartford.
[Hastings, Thomas.] "Musica Sacra," Ed. 2, Utica. Also variant edition.
Jackson, George K. "Choice Collection of Chants," [Boston?].
Lewis, Freeman. "Beauties of Harmony," Ed. 2, Pittsburgh.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany. Also variant edition.
Maxim, Abraham. "Northern Harmony," Ed. 4, Hallowell.
Seymour, L. & T. "New York Selection," Ed. 2, New York.
Smith, William. "An Assistant to the Evangelical Psalmodist," New Haven.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 13, Newburyport.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 4, Harrisburgh.

1817

[Brown, Bartholemew.] "Templi Carmina," Ed. 5, Boston.
"Choice Selection of hymns," Winchester.
Cole, John. "Episcopalian Harmony," Baltimore.
"Collection of Sacred Music," Albany.
Davisson, Ananias. "Kentucky Harmony," Ed. 2, Harrisonburg.
Dyer, Samuel. "New Selection of Sacred Music," Baltimore.
Dyer, Samuel. "New Selection, including Part 2," Baltimore.
Evans, James. "David's Companion," Ed. 2, New York.
Gillet, Wheeler. "Virginia Sacred Minstrel," Winchester.
Hartford-First Church. "Church Music," Hartford.
Hastings, Thomas. "The Musical Reader," Utica.
Jackson, George K. "Choral Companion," Boston.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany, Rev. & enl. ed.
Metcalfe, Samuel L. "The Kentucky Harmonist."
Nevius, John W. "New Brunswick Collection," New Brunswick.
"Old Colony Collection," Boston.
Reed, Ephraim. "Musical Monitor," Utica.
Riley, E. "Sacred Melodies," N.p.
[Tenney, Samuel.] "Hallowell Collection," Hallowell.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 14, Boston.
Worcester, Samuel. "Select Harmony," Ed. 2, Boston.

1818

Allen, Francis D. "New York Selection," New York.
Boyd, James. "Virginia Sacred Musical Repository," Winchester.
[Brown, Bartholemew.] "Templi Carmina," Ed. 6, Boston.
"Choristers' Guide,"
[Cole, John.] "Songs of Zion," Baltimore.
"David's Harp," Ed. 2, New London.
Davisson, Ananias. "Kentucky Harmony," Ed. 2, Harrisonburg.
"Gamut," Utica.
"Gamut: or Rules of Singing," Utica, octavo.
Gerhart, Isaac. "Choral-Harmonie," Harrisburg.
Hastings, Thomas. "Musica Sacra," Rev. Ed., Utica.
Jenks, Stephen. "The Harmony of Zion," Dedham.
Johnson, Alexander. "Johnson's Tennessee Harmony," Cincinnati.
Lewis, Freeman. "Beauties of Harmony," Ed. 3, Pittsburgh.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Utica.

Nevius, John W. "New Brunswick Collection," Ed. 2, New Brunswick.
Read, Daniel. "New Haven Collection," Dedham.
"Old Colony Collection of Anthems," Vol. I, Ed. 2, Boston.
Shaw, Oliver. "Sacred Melodies," Providence.
Southgate, Charles. "Harmonia Sacra," New York.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 15, Exeter.
"Valuable Collection of Sacred Musick," Exeter.
Washburn, Japheth. "Temple Harmony," Hallowell.
Willard, Samuel. "Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music," Ed. 2, Greenfield.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 5, Harrisburg.

1819

Baltimore-Reformed Presbyterian Church. "Baltimore Collection of Sacred Musick," Baltimore.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Templi Carmina," Ed. 7, Boston.
Bull, William. "Music, adapted to Language," Greenfield.
Clifton, Arthur. "Original Collection of Psalm Tunes," Baltimore.
Dyer, Samuel. "New Selection, Ed. 2," Baltimore.
Hastings, Thomas. "Musica Sacra," Ed. 2 Rev., Utica.
Hastings, Thomas. "The Musical Reader," Rev. and Enl., Utica.
Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," Ed. 4, Philadelphia.
Law, Andrew. "Musical Primer," Ed. 3, Philadelphia.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.
Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Cincinnati.
Maxim, Abraham. "Northern Harmony," Ed. 5, Hallowell.
"Old Colony Collection of Anthems," Vol. II, Boston.
"Sacred Harmony," Boston.
Shaw, Oliver. "Melodia Sacra, or Providence Selection," Providence.
[Tenney, Samuel.] "Hallowell Collection," Ed. 2, Hallowell.
"Village Harmony," Ed. 16, Exeter.
Wainwright, Jonathan. "Set of Chants," Boston.

1820

[Brown, Bartholemew.] "Templi Carmina," Ed. 8, Boston.
Carden, Allen D. "Missouri Harmony," St. Louis.
Carr, Benjamin. "Chorister," Philadelphia.
Carroll, James P. "Songs of Zion," N.p.
Cole, John. "Thirty Four Psalm Tunes," Baltimore.
Davisson, Ananias. "Supplement to Kentucky Harmony, Harrisonburg.

Dyer, Samuel. "New Selection of Sacred Music," Ed. 2, Baltimore.

[Funk, Christian.] "Die kleine geistliche Harfe," Ed 3, Germantown.

Hill, Uri K. "Solfeggio Americano," New York.

Holyoke, Samuel. "Occasional Companion, in twelve numbers," Boston.

Lewis, Freeman. "Beauties of Harmony," Ed. 4, Pittsburgh.

Little, Henry. "Wesleyan Harmony," Hallowell.

Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Utica.

Little, William. "Easy Instructor," Albany.

Mennonite Church U.S.A. "Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch," Ed. 3, Lancaster.

Metcalfe, Samuel L. "Kentucky Harmonist," Ed. 2, Cincinnati.

New York-John St. Church. "Wesleyan Selection," New York.

Reed, Ephraim. "Musical Monitor," Rev. ed., Ithaca.

"Village Harmony," Ed. 17, Exeter.

Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 5, Harrisburg.

Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second," Ed. 2, Harrisburg.

APPENDIX C

TUNE-BOOK EDITIONS BY CITY OF PUBLICATION

The entire bibliography of tune-books published during the twenty year period of this dissertation are here listed according to city of publication. The towns or cities are listed alphabetically under one of the five geographical regions defined in the Sample in Chapter Three. The tune-books are listed under each city alphabetically by author or compiler. Only a short title is used to save space; the complete listing is found under the main entry in Appendix A.

In some cases a book was published in a city other than that in which it was printed. The book is listed under the city of the publisher, since the content is more likely to reflect the psalmody of that city. Some tune-books did not list the place of publication. If a reasonable judgement was possible, the book was listed under a designated city. Only thirteen editions of the total bibliography are not listed geographically.

Those editions which were used in the geographically structured sample are marked with an asterisk "*".

APPENDIX C

Region I.

Andover, Massachusetts

Butts, Thomas. "Harmonia Sacra," 1816.

Boston, Massachusetts

Babcock, Samuel. "The Middlesex Harmony," Ed. 2, 1803.
Belknap, Daniel. "The Middlesex Collection of Sacred Harmony," 1802. Second Edition, 1808.
Belknap, Daniel. "The Village Compilation of Sacred Musick," Ed. 2, 1806. Also variant issue, 1806.
Boston-Brattle Street Church. "LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes, for Public Worship," 1810.
Boston-Federal Street Church. "Sacred Psalmody," [18-?]
Boston-First Church. "The First Church Collection of Sacred Musick," 1805.
Boston-First Church. "The First Church Collection of Sacred Musick," Ed. 2, 1806.
*Boston-First Church. "Sacred Musick," 1815.
Boston-Hollis Street Church. "Psalms and Hymn Tunes," 1811.
Boston-Trinity Church. "Hymns, selected from the most approved authors," 1808.
*Boston-West Church. "A Collection of Sacred Musick," 1810.
"The Boston Collection," 1808.
Brown, Bartholemew. "The Columbian & European Harmony: or, Bridgewater Collection," 1802.
*Brown, Bartholemew. "Columbian & European," Ed. 2, 1804.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Bridgewater Collection," Ed. 3, 1810.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Templi Carmina. Songs of the Temple, or, Bridgewater Collection," Ed. 4, 1816.
*Brown, Bartholemew. "Templi Carmina," Ed. 5, 1817.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Templi Carmina," Ed. 6, 1818.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Templi Carmina," Ed. 7, 1819.
Brown, Bartholemew. "Templi Carmina," Ed. 8, 1820.

Capen, Samuel. "The Norfolk Harmony No. 1," 1805.
Cheverus, Jean L. "Roman Catholic Manual, or Collection of Prayers, Anthems, Hymns, &c.," 1803.
Child, Ebenezer. "The Sacred Musician," 1804.
Cole, John. "A Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems," 1803.

Cooper, William. "Original Sacred Music," 1803.
Cooper, William. "The Beauties of Church Music," [1804].
Cooper, William. "Sacred Music," 1810.

Eckhard, Jacob. "Choral-Book," c. 1816.
*Forbush, Abijah. "The Psalmodist's Assistant," 1803.
Forbush, Abijah. "The Psalmodist's Assistant," Ed. 2, 1806.
Frost, Rufus. "The Medford Harmony," 1805.
Graupner, Gottlieb. "The Monitor; or, Celestial Melody," [1813?]

Hardy, Daniel. "A Thanksgiving Anthem, 1808.
*Hewitt, James. "Harmonia Sacra," 1812.
Hill, Uri K. "The Sacred Minstrel, No. 1, " 1806.
Holden, Oliver. "The Charlestown Collection," 1803.
Holden, Oliver. "Union Harmony, Vol. I," 1801.
*Holden, Oliver. "The Worcester Collection," Ed. 8, 1803.
Holt, Benjamin. "The New England Sacred Harmony," 1803.
Holyoke, Samuel. "The Occasional Companion," 1817-1820.
Huntington, Jonathan. "Classical Sacred Musick," 1812.

Jackson, George K. "A Choice Collection of Chants," [1816].
Jackson, George K. "The Choral Companion," [c. 1817].
Janes, Walter. "The Massachusetts Harmony," 1803.

[Madan, Rev. Martin.] "The Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes Sung at the Chapel of the Lock Hospital," 1809.
Mann, Elias. "The Massachusetts Collection," 1807
"The Middlesex Collection of Church Music," 1807.
*"The Middlesex Collection of Church Music," Ed. 2, 1808.
"The Middlesex Collection of Church Music," Ed. 3, 1811.
Moors, Hezekiah. "The Province Harmony, " 1809.
"The Old Colony Collection of Anthems." 1814; also [c. 1818], [1819], [1817?]

*Read, Daniel. "The Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 3, 1807.
Read, Daniel. "The Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 4, 1810.
Read, Joel. "The New England Selection," 1808.
Read, Joel. "The New England Selection," Ed. 2, 1812.

"Sacred Harmony," 1819.
"The Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Musick," Ed. 2, 1806.
Schaffer, Francis C. "Hymns, suitable for the devotion of Families and Churches," 1811.
"The Suffolk Selection of Church Musick," 1807.

Tomlins, James. "Sacred Musick," 1810.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 14, [1817].
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 14, 1818.
Wainright, Jonathan. "A Set of Chants adapted to the Hymns in the Morning and Evening Prayer," 1819.
*[Worcester, Samuel.] "Select Harmony: the Fourth Part of Christian Psalmody," 1813.
Worcester, Samuel. "Select Harmony," Ed. 2, 1817.
"Young Convert's Companion," 1806.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

*Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing, Ed. 4," 1805.

Dedham, Massachusetts

Albee, Amos. "The Norfolk Collection of Sacred Harmony," 1805.
Janes, Walter. "The Harmonic Minstrelsy," 1805.
Janes, Walter. "The Harmonic Minstrelsey," 1807.
Jenks, Stephen. "The Christian Harmony," 1811.
Jenks, Stephen. "The Delights of Harmony," 1805.
[Ellis, Abner.] "Additional Music, to The Delights of Harmony," 1805.
*Jenks, Stephen. "The Delights of Harmony," 1806.
*Jenks, Stephen. "The Harmony of Zion," 1818
Jenks, Stephen. "The Royal Harmony of Zion," 1810.
[Read, Daniel.] "The New Haven Collection of Sacred Music," 1818.
Peck, Daniel L. "The Musical Medley," 1808.
Read, Daniel. "The Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 2, 1804. Two variant issues.
Read, Daniel. "The Columbian Harmonist," Ed. 3, 1806.
Sanger, Zedekiah. "The Meridian Harmony," 1808.
Shaw, Oliver. "The Columbian Sacred Harmonist," 1808.
Shaw, Oliver. "The Providence Selection," 1815.
*Thomson, Samuel. "The Columbian Harmony," 1810.

Exeter, New Hampshire

[Blanchard, Amos.] "The Newburyport Collection of Sacred European musick," 1807.
Blanchard, Amos. "The American Musical Primer," 1808.
Hartwell, Edward. "The Chorister's Companion," 1815.
Holyoke, Samuel. "The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony," [1802].
Holyoke, Samuel. "The Vocal Companion," 1807.
*Ingalls, Jeremiah. "The Christian Harmony," 1805.
*Maxim, Abraham. "The Northern Harmony," 1805.
Maxim, Abraham. "The Northern Harmony," Ed. 2, 1808.
Maxim, Abraham. "The Oriental Harmony," 1802.
Portsmouth, N.H. "A Collection of Sacred Musick," 1814.
Robbins, Charles. "The Columbian Harmony," 1805.
"A Valuable Collection of Sacred Musick," 1818.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 6, 1803.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 7, 1806.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 8, 1807.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 9, 1808.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 10, [1810].
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 15, 1818.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 16, 1819.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 17, 1820.
*Washburn, Japheth C. "The Parish Harmony," [1813].
Wood, William. "Harmonia Evangelica," [1810].

Hallowell, Maine

Little, Henry. "The Wesleyan Harmony, [c. 1820].
Maxim, Abraham. "The Northern Harmony," Ed. 4, 1816.
Maxim, Abraham. "The Northern Harmony," Ed. 5, 1819.
*[Tenney, Samuel.] "The Hallowell Collection of Sacred Music," 1817.
[Tenney, Samuel.] "The Hallowell Collection," Ed. 2, 1819.
Washburn, Japheth C. "The Temple Harmony," 1818.

Newburyport, Massachusetts

"The Evangelical Songster," 1812.
Hubbard, John. "A Volume of Sacred Musick," 1814.
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 11, [1813].
*"The Village Harmony," Ed. 13, [1816].
"The Village Harmony," Ed. 12, [1815].

New Canaan, Connecticut

Jenks, Stephen. "The Delights of Harmony," 1805.

New Haven, Connecticut

Doolittle, Eliakim. "The Psalm Singers Companion," 1806.
Jenks, Stephen. "The Delights of Harmony," 1804. Two issues.
Jenks, Stephen. "The Delights of Harmony," [1805].
Read, Daniel. "The Columbian Harmonist, No. 2," 1801.
Smith, William. "Assistant to the Evangelical Psalmodist," 1816.
Terril, Israel. "The Musical Melodies," 1803.
*Terril, Israel. "Vocal Harmony, No. 1," [c. 1805].

New London, Connecticut

"David's Harp," 1816.
*David's Harp," Ed. 2, 1818.
Olmstead, T. "The Musical Olio," Ed. 2, 1811.
Roberts, Eli. "The Hartford Collection," 1812.

Providence, Rhode Island

Pool, David. "The American and European Harmony," 1813.
Shaw, Oliver. "Melodia Sacra, or Providence Selection of Sacred Musick," 1819. Also 1818.

Salem, Massachusetts

*Holyoke, Samuel. "The Christian Harmonist," 1804.
Kimball, Jaoob. "The Essex Harmony, Part II, " 1802.
Leslie, Benjamin. "The Concert Harmony," 1811.
Palfray, Warwick. "The Evangelical Psalmodist," 1802.
Protestant Episcopal Church. "Chants, Occasional Pieces and Plain Tunes," 1814.
"The Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Music," 1805. Also 1806.

Region II.

Baltimore, Maryland

*"Baltimore-Reformed Presbyterian Church. "The Baltimore Collection of Sacred Musick," 1819.
Carr, Benjamin. "Lessons in Vocal Music," [1811].
Carr, Benjamin. "Masses, Vespers, Litanies," 1805.
Carr, Benjamin. "Masses, Vespers, Litanies," A new ed., [181-?].
Carr, Benjamin. "Sacred Harmony," [1804-1805].
Cheverus, Jean. "Anthems, Hymns," Ed. 2, 1807.
Clifton, Arthur. "An original Collection of Psalm Tunes," 1819.
[Cole, John.] "The Beauties of Psalmody," 1804.
*Cole, John. "The Beauties of Psalmody," 1805. Ed. 2.
Cole, John. "Devotional Harmony," [1814].
Cole, John. ["The Divine Harmonist"], [1802].
Cole, John. "The Divine Harmonist," [1808].
Cole, John. "Ecclesiastical Harmony," [1810]
Cole, John. "Episcopalian Harmony," 1809.
Cole, John. "Episcopalian Harmony," [c. 1811]. Also [c. 1817].
Cole, John. "The Rudiments of Music," [1810].
[Cole, John.] "Songs of Zion," [c. 1818].
Cole, John. "Thirty four psalm tunes," 1820.
Cole, John. "Sacred Music," [1803].
Dyer, Samuel. "A New Selection of Sacred Music," [1817].
Dyer, Samuel. "A New Selection of Sacred Music," 2 Pts. in one vol., [1817].
Dyer, Samuel. "A New Selection," Ed. 2, [1819?].
Dyer, Samuel. "A New Selection," Ed. 2, [1820?].
*Gillet, Wheeler. "The Maryland Selection of Sacred Music," 1809.
Kent, Emanuel. "David's Harp," 1812.
*Kent, Emanuel. "David's Harp," 1813.

Hopewell, New Jersey

Smith, William. "The Easy Instructor," Part II," [c. 1803].
Smith, William. "The Easy Instructor, Part II,"" [1806].

New Brunswick, New Jersey

*Nevius, John W. "The New Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music," 1817.
Nevius, John W. "The New Brunswick Collection," Ed. 2, 1818.

New York City, New York

Allen, Francis D. "The New York Selection of Sacred Music," 1818.
Edson, Lewis. "The Social Harmonist," 1801. Ed. 2.
Edson, Lewis. "The Social Harmonist," Ed. 3, 1803.
Erban, Peter. "Select Psalm and Hymn Tunes," 1806.
Evans, J. "David's Companion," 1807.
Evans, J. "David's Companion," 1808.
*Evans, James. "David's Companion," [1811?]
Evans, James. "David's Companion," 1817.
Hill, Uri K. "The Handelian Repository," 1814.
Hill, Uri K. "Solfeggio Americano," [1820].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," 1802.
New York—John Street Church. "Wesleyan Selection," 1820.
Protestant Episcopal Church. "A Selection of Psalm Tunes," 1812.
Seymour, Lewis. "The Musical Instructor," 1803.
*Seymour, Lewis. "The New York Selection of Sacred Music," 1809. Also 1812.
Seymour, Lewis. "The New York Selection," Ed. 2, 1816.
Smith, William. "The Churchman's Choral Companion," 1809.
Southgate, Charles. "Harmonia Sacra," [1818?]

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Addington, Stephen. "Sacred Music," [1807?].
Addington, Stephen. "A Valuable Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes," 1808.
Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," [1801].
Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," Ed. 8, [1803].
Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," [1807].
Adgate, Andrew. "Philadelphia Harmony," [1811].
Aitken, John. "A Compilation of the Litanies, Vespers, Hymns and Anthems," 1814.
Blake, George E. "Vocal Harmony," 1805.
Blake, George. "Vocal Harmony," [1810?].
Carr, Benjamin. "The Chorister," 1820.
Carr, Benjamin. "A Collection of Chants & Tunes," [1816].
*Chapin, Nathan. "The Musical Instructr ," [1808].
Chapin, Nathan. "The Musical Instructor," 1810.
Cole, Isaac P. "The Philadelphia Third Presbyterian Church Collection of Sacred Music," 1815.
Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing," [c. 1810]. (ed. 5?).
Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing," Pt. III, 1811.
Law, Andrew. "A Choice Collection of Church Music," 1807.

Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," [c. 1807].
Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," [1810].
Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," Ed. 3 [c. 1814].
*Law, Andrew. "Harmonic Companion," Ed. 4, 1819.
Law, Andrew. "Musical Primer," [c. 1819]. Ed. 3
Law, Andrew. "Supplement to the Musical Primer," [c. 1811].
Law, Andrew. "Select Harmony," [1807]. [Also c. 1811?].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1801].
"Musical Catechism," Ed. 3, 1811.
*Peck, Daniel L. "A Valuable Selection of Sacred Music," 1810.
Philadelphia—Catholic Church. "A Collection of Litanies, Vespers Chants," A new ed., 1814.
"Sacred Harmony," 1806.
Shumway, Nehemiah. "The American Harmony," Ed. 2, 1801.
Stammers, Edward. "Philadelphia Chorister," 1803.
Woodward, Charles. "Sacred Music in Miniature," 1812.
Woodward, Charles. "Ecclesiae Harmonia," 1807.
*Woodward, Charles. "Ecclesiae Harmonia," Ed. 2, [1809].

Wilmington, Delaware

Fobes, Azariah. "The Delaware Harmony," [1808].
Fobes, Azariah. "The Delaware Harmony," 1809.
*Fobes, Azariah. "The Delaware Harmony," Ed. 2, 1814.

Region III

Albany, New York

Atwill, Thomas. "The New York and Vermont Collections of Sacred Harmony," Ed. 2 [1804]. [1806?]
*Atwill, Thomas. "The New York and Vermont Collection," Ed. 2, [1805].
Atwill, Thomas. "The New York and Vermont Collection," Ed. 3, n.d.
"A Collection of Sacred Music," 1817.
"The Gamut, or, Scale of Music," n.d.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," 1805.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," 1806.
*Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," 1807. Also variant issue.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor, 1808.

Little, William, "The Easy Instructor," [1809].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1810]. Also a variant issue. issue.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1811].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1812].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1813].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1813].
Little, William. "The EasyInstructor," [1814]. Also a variant issue.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1815].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1815].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1816]. Also a variant issue.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1817].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1817].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1818].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1819].
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," [1820].

Canandaigua, New York

"A Gamut, or, Scale of Music," 1811.

Concord, New Hampshire

"Modern Harmony: or, the scholar's task made easy," 1808.

Cooperstown, New York

"The Gamut, or, Scale of Music," 1814.

Greenfield, Massachusetts

Bull, William. "Music, adapted to Language," 1819.
*Willard, Samuel. "The Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music." 1814.
Willard, Samuel. "The Deerfield Collection," Ed. 2, 1818.

Hartford, Connecticut

*"A Gamut, or, Scale of Music," 1805.
"A Gamut," 1807.
"A Gamut," 1811.

*"A Gamut," 1814.
"A Gamut," 1816.
Griswold, Elijah. "The Hartford Collection," 1807.
Hartford—First Church. "Church Music," 1817.
Law, Andrew. "The Art of Singing," [1800].)(Cheshire) [published 1801].

Ithaca, New York

*Reed, Ephraim. "Musical Monitor," 1820.

Lansingburg, New York

Atwill, Thomas. "The New York Collection of Sacred Harmony," 1802.

Northampton, Massachusetts

"American Musical Magazine," 1801.
[Billings, William.] "The Young Man's Instructive Companion," [1804?].
Bushnell, John. "The Musical Synopsis," 1807.
"The Columbian Harp," 1812.
"The Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music," [1807-08].
French, Jacob. "Harmony of Harmony," 1802.
Harmon, Joel. "The Columbian Sacred Minstrel," 1809.
Hill, Uri K. "The Vermont Harmony, Vol. I," 1801.
*Howe, Solomon. "The Farmer's Evening Entertainment," 1804.
Howe, Solomon. "The Worshipper's Assistant," 1804.
Huntington, Jonathan. "The Apollo Harmony," 1807.
Huntington, Jonathan. "The English Extracts, or Hampshire Musical Magazine," 1809.
*Jenks, Stephen. "The American Compiler of Sacred Harmony," 1803.
Mann, Elias. "The Northampton Collection of Sacred Harmony," 1802.
Newhall, James. "The Vocal Harmony," 1803.
Olmsted, Timothy. "The Musical Olio," 1805.
Swan, Timothy. "The New England Harmony," 1801.
West, Elisha. "The Musical Concert," 1802.
West, Elisha. "The Musical Concert," Ed. 2, 1807.

Otsego, New York

"The Gamut, or Scale of Music," 1810.

Springfield, Massachusetts

Warriner, Solomon. "The Springfield Collection of Sacred Music," 1813.

Troy, New York

"The Gamut, or Scale of Music," 1810.

Utica, New York

"The Gamut, or Scale of Music," 1815.
"The Gamut: or Rules of Singing," 1818. Also variant issue.
Hastings, Thomas. "The Musical Reader," 1817.
Hastings, Thomas. "The Musical Reader, Rev. and Enl., 1819.
[Hastings, Thomas.] "Musica Sacra," 1815.
[Hastings, Thomas.] "Musica Sacra," Ed. 2, 1816. Also variant issue.
*Hastings, Thomas. "Musica Sacra," Rev. ed., 1818.
Hastings, Thomas. "Musica Sacra," Rev. Ed. 2, 1819.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," 1818.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," 1820.
Reed, Ephraim. "The Musical Monitor," 1817.
Ward, William. "Gamut," 1806.

Region IV.

Cincinnati, Ohio

[Flint, Timothy.] "The Columbian Harmonist," 1816.
Johnson, Alexander. "Johnson's Tennessee Harmony," 1818.
Little, William. "The Easy Instructor," 1819.
Metcalfe, Samuel. "The Kentucky Harmonist," 1817.
Metcalfe, Samuel. "The Kentucky Harmonist," 1820.
Patterson, Robert. "Patterson's Church Music," Ed. 2, 1815.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Harmon, Joel. "The Musical Primer," [1814?]
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," 1810.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 2, 1811.
[Wyeth, John.] "Repository of Sacred Music," [1812].
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 3, 1814.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 4, 1816.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 5, 1818.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music," Ed. 5, 1820.
*Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second," 1813.
Wyeth, John. "Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second," Ed. 2., 1820.

Harrisonburg, Virginia

Davisson, Ananias. "The Kentucky Harmony," [c. 1815].
Davisson, Ananias. "The Kentucky Harmony," Ed. 2, [1817].
Davisson, Ananias. "The Kentucky Harmony," Ed. 2, [1818?].

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Armstrong, John. "The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm Tunes," 1816.
Lewis, Freeman. "The Beauties of Harmony," 1814.
*Lewis, Freeman. "The Beauties of Harmony," Ed. 2, 1816.
Lewis, Freeman. "The Beauties of Harmony," Ed. 3, 1818.
Lewis, Freeman, "The Beauties of Harmony," Ed. 4, 1820.

Shippensburg, Pennsylvania

"The Cumberland Melodist," 1804.

St. Louis, Missouri

Carden, Allen D. "The Missouri Harmony," 1820.

Winchester, Virginia

*Boyd, James M. "The Virginia Sacred Musical Repository," 1818.
"A Choice Selection of Hymns, set to some of the most approved tunes," 1817.
Gillet, Wheeler. "The Virginia Sacred Minstrel," 1817.

Region V

Philadelphia-Germantown, Pennsylvania

Deutsche-Evangelische Church. "Choral-Buch für die erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung," 1813.

[Funk, Christian.] "Die kleine geistliche Harfe," 1803.

[Funk, Christian.] "Die kleine geistliche Harfe," Ed. 2, 1811.

[Funk, Christian.] "Die kleine geistliche Harfe," Ed. 3, 1820.

Reformed Church. "Das neue und verbesserte Gesangbuch," Ed. 3, 1807.

Reformed Church. "Das neue und verbesserte Gesangbuch," Ed. 5, 1814. [Philadelphia.].

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

*Doll, Joseph. "Der leichte Unterricht von der vocal Musik," 1810.

Doll, Joseph. "Der leichter Unterricht," Ed. 2, 1814.

*Doll, Joseph. "Der Leichter Unterricht," Vol. II, 1815.

Gerhart, Isaac. "Choral-Harmonie," 1818.

Harrisonburg, Virginia

Funk, Joseph. "Die allgemein nützliche choral-Music," [1816?].

Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Mennonite Church. "Ein neues, unpartheyisches Gesangbuch," 1804.

Mennonite Church. "Ein neues, unpartheyisches Gesangbuch," Ed. 2, 1808.

Mennonite Church. "Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch," Ed. 3, 1820.